



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

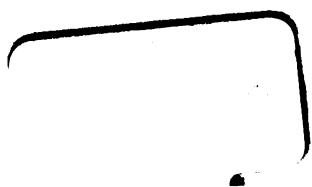
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES

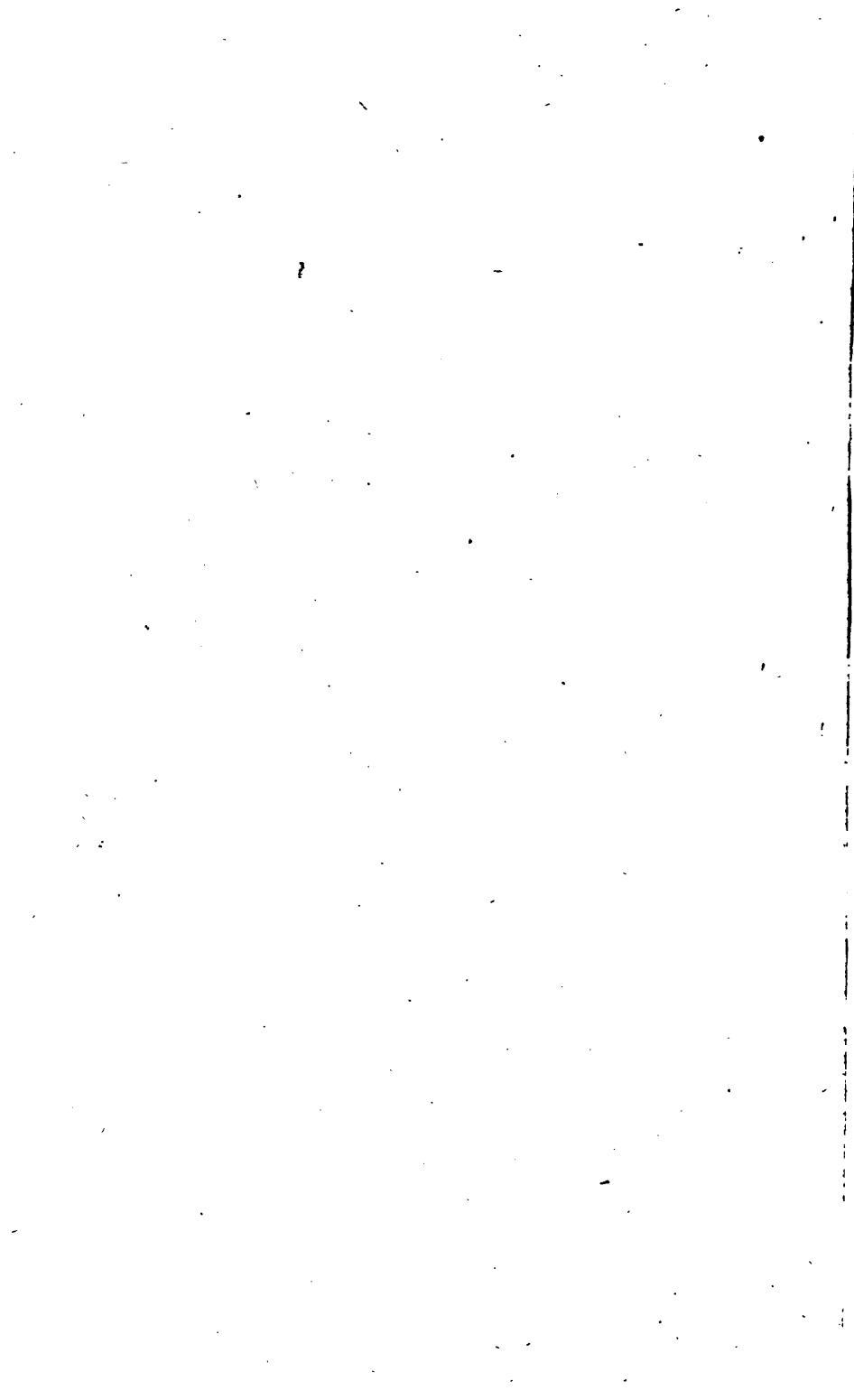


3 3433 08159730 8



BW1
Gibbon





THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

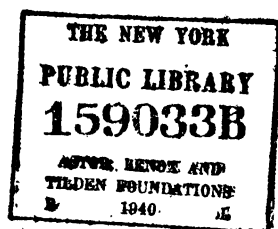
A NEW EDITION.

BASIL:

PRINTED BY J. J. TOURNEISEN.

MDCCLXXXIX.

Alen



THE NEW YORK

PUBLIC LIBRARY

159033B

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1940

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

TWELFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second — Siege, Assault, and final Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. — Death of Constantine Palæologus. — Servitude of the Greeks. — Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East. — Consternation of Europe. — Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

A. D.		Page
	Character of Mahomet II.	1
1451	— 1481. His Reign	4
1451	Hostile Intentions of Mahomet	5
1452	He builds a Fortrefs on the Bosphorus	9
	The Turkish War	10
1452, 1453.	Preparations for the Siege of Constantinople	12
	The great Cannon of Mahomet	14
1453	Mahomet II. forms the Siege of Constantinople	16
	Forces of the Turks	18
	— of the Greeks	19
1452	False Union of the two Churches	20
	Obstinacy and Fanaticism of the Greeks	22
1453	Siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II.	24
	Attack and Defence	27

A. D.		Page
	Succour and Victory of four Ships	29
	Mahomet transports his Navy over Land	32
	Distress of the City	35
	Preparations of the Turks for the general Assault	36
	Last Farewel of the Emperor and the Greeks	38
	The general Assault	39
	Death of the Emperor Constantine Palæologus	44
	Loss of the City and Empire	ib.
	The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople	ib.
	Captivity of the Greeks	46
	Amount of the Spoil	48
	Mahomet II. visits the City, St. Sophia, the Palace, etc.	51
	His Behaviour to the Greeks	52
	He repeoples and adorns Constantinople	54
	Extinction of the Imperial Families of Comnenus and Palæologus	57
1460	Loss of the Morea	58
1461	— of Trebizond	59
1453	Grief and Terror of Europe	61
1481	Death of Mahomet II.	64

C H A P. LXIX.

*State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. — Temporal
Dominion of the Popes. — Seditions of the City. —
Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia. — Restoration
of the Republic. — The Senators. — Pride of the
Romans. — Their Wars. — They are deprived of the
Election and Presence of the popes, who retire to
Avignon. — The Jubilee. — Noble Families of Rome.
— Feud of the Colonna and Ursini.*

1100 — 1500.	State and Revolutions of Rome	65
800 — 1100.	The French and German Emperors of Rome	66

CONTENTS.

A. D.	Page
Authority of the Popes in Rome	68
From Affection	69
— Right	ib.
— Virtue	70
— Benefits	ib.
Inconstancy of Superstition	71
Seditious of Rome against the Popes	73
1086—1305. Successors of Gregory VII.	ib.
1099—1118. Pascal II.	74
1118, 1119. Gelasius II.	75
1144, 1145. Lucius II.	76
1181—1185. Lucius III.	ib.
1119—1124. Calistus II.	77
1130—1143. Innocent II.	ib.
Character of the Romans by St. Bernard	ib.
1140 Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia	78
1144—1154. He exhorts the Romans to restore the Republic	80
1155 His Execution	82
1144 Restoration of the Senate	83
The Capitol	85
The Coin	86
The Præfect of the City	ib.
Number and Choice of the Senate	87
The Office of Senator	88
1252—1258. Brancalcione	90
1265—1278. Charles of Anjou	91
1281 Pope Martin IV.	92
1328 The emperor Lewis of Bavaria	ib.
Addresses of Rome to the Emperors	ib.
1144 Conrad III.	ib.
1155 Frederic I.	94
Wars of the Romans against the neigh- bouring Cities	98
1167 Battle of Tusculum	100
1234—of Viterbo	ib.
The Election of the Popes	101

A. D.	Page
1179 Right of the Cardinals established by Alexander III.	102
1274 Institution of the Conclave by Gregory X.	103
Absence of the Popes from Rome	105
1294—1303. Boniface VIII.	106
1309 Translation of the Holy See to Avignon	107
1300 Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year	109
1350 The second Jubilee	111
The nobles or Barons of Rome	112
Family of Leo the Jew	113
The Colonna	114
And Ursini	117
Their hereditary Feuds	118

C H A P. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch. — 'Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi. — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death. — Return of the Popes from Avignon. — Great Schism of the West. — Reunion of the Latin Church. — Last Struggles of Roman Liberty. — Statutes of Rome. — Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

1304—1374. Petrarch	120
1341 His poetic Coronation at Rome	122
Birth, Character, and patriotic Designs of Rienzi	124
1347 He assumes the Government of Rome	127
With the Title and Office of Tribune	129
Laws of the good Estate	ib.
Freedom and Prosperity of the Roman Republic	132
The Tribune is respected in Italy, etc.	134
And celebrated by Petrarch	136
His Vices and Follies	ib.

C O N T E N T S.

vii

A. D.	Page
1347 The Pomp of his Knighthood	138
And Coronation	140
Fear and Hatred of the Nobles of Rome	ib.
They oppose Rienzi in Arms	142
Defeat and Death of the Colonna	144
Fall and Flight of the Tribune Rienzi /	145
1347—1354. Revolutions of Rome	146
Adventures of Rienzi	148
1351 A Prisoner at Avignon	149
1354 Rienzi, Senator of Rome	ib.
His Death	152
1355 Petrarch invites and upbraids the Emperor Charles IV.	ib.
He solicits the Popes of Avignon to fix their Residence at Rome	153
1367—1370. Return of Urban V.	154
1377 Final Return of Gregory XI.	155
1378 His Death	156
Election of Urban VI.	ib.
Election of Clement VII.	157
1378—1418. Great Schism of the West	159
Calamities of Rome	ib.
1392—1407. Negotiations for Peace and Union	160
1409 Council of Pisa	162
1414—1418. Council of Constance	163
Election of Martin V.	164
1417 Martin V.	ib.
1431 Eugenius IV.	ib.
1447 Nicholas V.	ib.
1434 Last Revolt of Rome	165
1452 Last Coronation of a German Emperor, Frederic III.	166
The Statutes and Government of Rome	ib.
1453 Conspiracy of Porcaro	169
Last Disorders of the Nobles of Rome	172
1500 The Popes acquire the absolute Dominion of Rome	ib.

A. D.	Page
The Ecclesiastical Government	175
1585—1590. Sixtus V.	176

C H A P. LXXI.

Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century. — Four Causes of Decay and Destruction. — Example of the Coliseum. — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of the whole Work.

1430	View and Discourse of Poggius from the Capitoline Hill	178
	His Description of the Ruins	179
	Gradual Decay of Rome	181
	Four Causes of Destruction	182
	I. The Injuries of Nature	183
	Hurricanes and Earthquakes	ib.
	Fires	ib.
	Inundations	185
	II. The hostile Attacks of the Barbarians and Christians	186
	III. The Use and Abuse of the Materials	188
	IV. The domestic Quarrels of the Romans	192
	The Coliseum or Amphitheatre of Titus	196
	Games of Rome	197
1332	A Bull-feast in the Coliseum	ib.
	Injuries	200
	And Consecration of the Coliseum	201
	Ignorance and Barbarism of the Romans	ib.
1420	Restoration and Ornaments of the City	203
	Final Conclusion	206

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

D E C L I N E A N D F A L L

O F T H E

R O M A N E M P I R E.

C H A P. LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second. — Siege, Assault, and final Conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks. — Death of Constantine Palaeologus. — Servitude of the Greeks. — Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East. — Conspiration of Europe. — Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks C H A P. LXVIII.
 attracts our first attention to the person and Character of Mahomet II.
 character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the
 second² was the son of the second Amurath;
 and though his mother has been decorated with
 the titles of Christian and princess, she is more
 probably confounded with the numerous con-
 cubines who peopled from every climate the

VOL. XII. B

2 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran¹: his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth, must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages², the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praises in Latin poetry³ or prose⁴ might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves?

The history and geography of the world were C H A P. familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes LXVIII. of the East, perhaps of the West⁶, excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy⁷. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness⁸. But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the

4 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. obstacles, and the atchievements, Mahomet the
LXVIII. second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

His reign,
 A. D. 1451,
 February 9—
 A. D. 1481,
 July 2.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks, he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams, and cadhis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers. The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his

accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances, with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household: the expences of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service or enlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design".

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of

C H A P.
LXVIII.

Hostile intentions of Mahomet,
A. D. 1452.

6 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own
LXVIII. indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture". Instead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable "Romans," said Calil, "we know your devices, "and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the "scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws "can bind and no obstacles can resist: and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your "sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and "indirect menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, "crown him sultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm against "us the nations of the West: and be assured, "that you will only provoke and precipitate "your ruin." But, if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interest, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an hostile

mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis¹². Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented, that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprize," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians; when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moslems trembled; and for

8 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. "a while the *Gabours*" insulted our disgrace.
LXVIII. "But when my father had triumphed in the
"field of Warná, he vowed to erect a fort on
"the western shore, and that vow it is my duty
"to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye
"the power, to control my actions on my own
"ground? For that ground *is* my own: as far
"as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited
"by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the
"Romans. Return, and inform your king that
"the present Ottoman is far different from his
"predecessors; that *his* resolutions surpass *their*
"wishes; and that *he* performs more than *they*
"could resolve. Return in safety — but the next
"who delivers a similar message may expect to
"be flayed alive." After this declaration, Con-
stantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in
rank, had determined to unsheathe the sword,
and to resist the approach and establishment of
the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed
by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical mi-
nisters, who recommended a system less generous,
and even less prudent, than his own, to approve
their patience and long-suffering, to brand the
Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor,
and to depend on chance and time for their own
safety and the destruction of a fort which could
not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of
a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear,
the fears of the wise and the hopes of the credu-
lous, the winter rolled away; the proper business
of each man, and each hour, was postponed;

and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin. C H A P. LXVIII.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March, the appointed spot of Afomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers; and the materials by sea and land, were diligently transported from Europe and Asia¹¹. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress¹² was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore: a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the

He builds a
fortress on
the Bospho-
rus,
A. D. 1452,
March.

10 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. LXVIII. work; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt: the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives¹²; and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor

The Turkish
 war,
 June;

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 11

" treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pur- C H A P.
 " sue," said he to Mahomet; " your impious LXVIII.
 " warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should
 " please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice
 " in the happy change; if he delivers the city
 " into your hands, I submit without a murmur
 " to his holy will. But until the judge of the
 " earth shall pronounce between us, it is my
 " duty to live and die in the defence of my
 " people." The sultan's answer was hostile and
 decisive: his fortifications were completed; and
 before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed
 a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to
 levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that
 should pass within the reach of their cannon. A September 1;
 Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new
 lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single
 bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in
 the boat; but they were dragged in chains to
 the *porte*: the chief was impaled; his companions
 were beheaded; and the historian Ducas¹¹ beheld,
 at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild
 beasts. The siege of Constantinople was defer-
 red till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman
 army marched into the Morea to divert the
 force of the brothers of Constantine. At this A. D. 1435,
 æra of calamity, one of these princes, the despot January 17.
 Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth
 of a son; " the last heir," says the plaintive
 Phranza, " of the last spark of the Roman em-
 " pire."¹²

12 THE DECLINE AND FALL

G H A P.

LXVIII.

Preparations
for the siege
of Constantin-
ople,

A. D. 1452,
September—

A. D. 1453,
April.

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople "the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels"; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the

last time, his wife and children; filled a cup C H A P.
 with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, LXVIII.
 adored the sultan, and offered, according to the
 Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty
 and gratitude". "It is not my wish," said
 Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to
 "heap and multiply them on thy head. In
 "my turn I ask a present far more valuable and
 "important;—Constantinople." As soon as the
 vizir had recovered from his surprise, "the same
 God," said he, "who has already given thee
 "so large a portion of the Roman empire, will
 "not deny the remnant, and the capital. His
 "providence, and thy power, assure thy success;
 "and myself, with the rest of thy faithful
 "slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes."
 "Lala", (or preceptor), continued the sultan,
 "do you see this pillow? all the night, in my
 "agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the
 "other; I have risen from my bed, again have
 "I lain down; yet sleep has not visited these
 "weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of
 "the Romans: in arms we are superior; and
 "with the aid of God, and the prayers of the
 "prophet, we shall speedily become masters of
 "Constantinople." To sound the disposition of
 his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets
 alone and in disguise: and it was fatal to discover
 the sultan, when he wished to escape from the
 vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating
 the plan of the hostile city: in debating with his
 generals and engineers, on what spot he should

14 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. erect his batteries; on which side he should assault
LXVIII. the walls; where he should spring his mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders: and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

The great
 cannon of
 Mahomet.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to
 " cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or
 " stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of
 " Constantinople? I am not ignorant of their
 " strength, but were they more solid than those
 " of Babylon, I could oppose an engine, of
 " superior power: the position and management
 " of that engine must be left to your engineers."
 On this assurance, a foundery was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous, and almost incredible, magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds". A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but, to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a

proclamation was issued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher²² derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude

16 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. LXVIII. and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the streight, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill⁶⁶.

Mahomet II.
forms the
siege of Con-
stantinople,
A. D. 1453,
April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he

was .

was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours". Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope, that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries". The indigent and solitary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selybria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public

C H A P. market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles: and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

LXVIII.
Forces of the
Turks.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour: the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment, and a subordinate army inclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philephus, who resided in Greece about thirty years, before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to an handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the *Capituli*²², the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords,

of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Calcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability". The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as gallees of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still ^{of the} peopled with more than an hundred thousand ^{Greeks.} inhabitants; but these numbers, are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The

C H A P. lists were entrusted to Phranza¹¹; and, after a
LXVIII diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, crossbows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

False union
 of the two
 churches.
 A. D. 1452,
 Dec. 12.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced

each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation¹². With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

22. THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. But the dress and language of the Latin priest

LXVIII.
Obstinacy
and fanaticism of the
Greeks.

who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity". Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revival; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius"; to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had exposed on the door of his cell; a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your

“ trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you
 “ will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O
 “ Lord! I protest in thy presence, that I am
 “ innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans,
 “ consider, pause, and repent. At the same
 “ moment that you renounce the religion of
 “ your fathers, by embracing impiety, you
 “ submit to a foreign servitude.” According to
 the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins,
 as pure as angels and as proud as dæmons,
 rejected the act of union, and abjured all com-
 munion with the present and future associates of
 the Latins; and their example was applauded
 and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy
 and people. From the monastery, the devout
 Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank
 confusion to the slaves of the pope; emptied their
 glasses in honour of the image of the holy Virgin;
 and besought her to defend against Mahomet,
 the city which she had formerly saved from
 Chosroes and the Chàgan. In the double intoxi-
 cation of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed;
 “ What occasion have we for succour, or union;
 “ or Latins? far from us be the worship of the
 “ Azymites!” During the winter that preceded
 the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted
 by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of
 Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing
 charity and love, served only to fortify the
 obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The
 confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience
 of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was

C H A P. imposed on those, who had received the communion from a priest, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat". A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree, or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Siege of
Constantinople by Mahomet II.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the

two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles³⁶, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered, that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire, of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins.

O H A P.

LXVIII.

A. D. 1453.

April 6—

May 29.

C H A P. LXVIII. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion". The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude"; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day". The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 27

The first random shots were productive of **CHAM** more sound than effect; and it was by the advice **LXVIII.** of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault⁴⁰. Innumerable fascines, and hogheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch, was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air⁴¹. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the re-union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the

Attack and
defence.

28 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the
LXVIII. liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a stair-case to the upper platform; and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-

seven thousand prophets should not have com- C H A P:
LXVIII.
pelled him to believe that such a work, in so
short a time, could have been accomplished by
the infidels.

*The generosity of the Christian princes was Success and
victory of
four ships.
cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of
a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles
of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the
most indispensable supplies. As early as the be-
ginning of April, five " great ships, equipped
for merchandise and war, would have sailed from
the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown
obstinately from the north ". One of these ships
bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four be-
longed to the Genœse; and they were laden with
wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables,
and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for
the service of the capital. After a tedious delay,
a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong
gale from the south, carried them through the
Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was
already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish
fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was
stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a
crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these
bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to
his mind the geographical picture of Constantin-
ople, will conceive and admire the greatness of
the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued
to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press,
both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of
three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp,

CHAP. the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with
 LXVIII. innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels"; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen gallees of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian Squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage: their artillery swept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the

Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and a closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian Squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the despotism of the prince or people,

C H A P. misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank
LXVIII. and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod “: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan “.

Mahomet transports his navy over land.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised if the ambition and jealousy of
of

of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil, Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several gallies and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Four-score light gallies and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were dis-embarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and

34 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. pullies. Two guides of pilots were stationed at
 LXVIII. the helm, and the prow, of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired: but the notorious, unquestionable, fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations". A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients"; the Ottoman gallies (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle" has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times". As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army; he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length: it was formed of casks and hogsheds; joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore gallies, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians

has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Musulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

Distress of
the city.

36 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. During the siege of Constantinople, the words

LXVIII. of peace and capitulation had been sometimes

Preparations
of the Turks
for the general
assault,
May 26.

pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city". The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours*, the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats: but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure: but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives,

of the perilous enterprize. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine: but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and

38 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. LXVIII. potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp reechoed with the Moslem shouts of, "God is God, there is but one God," and Mahomet is the apostle of God"; and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

*Last farewell
of the emperor
and the
Greeks.*

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment; of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties; they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire"; he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompence to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the

pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced, regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

C H A P.
LXVIII.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched with the prows and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible

The general
assault,
May 29.

walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning gun; the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack". The foremost ranks consisted, of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Rumania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the

Greeks still maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions, and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable, amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious

C H A P. pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and
 LXVIII. horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the
 distance of three centuries and a thousand miles,
 to delineate a scene, of which there could be no
 spectators, and of which the actors themselves
 were incapable of forming any just or adequate
 idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be
 ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced
 the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his
 blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage
 of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the
 firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from
 his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was
 perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor.
 "Your wound;" exclaimed Palæologus, "is
 "slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is
 "necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I
 "will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by
 "the same road which God has opened to the
 "Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed
 through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By
 this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a mi-
 litary life; and the few days which he survived in
 Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by
 his own and the public reproach. His example
 was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin
 auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when
 the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour.
 The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps
 an hundred, times superior to that of the Chris-
 tians; the double walls were reduced by the

cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained till their last breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was

44 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P.

LXVIII.

Death of the
emperor
Constantine
Palæologus.

buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled toward the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour ". In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors ".

Loss of the
city and em-
pire.

The Turks
enter and
pillage Con-
stantinople.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong some moments the happy ignorance of their ruin ". But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the

Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurances of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakness, could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd, each individual might be safe and invincible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome, which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor; that one day the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy

C H A P. and much truth, upbraids the discord and obsti-
 LXVIII. nacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared,"
 exclaims the historian, "had he offered to ex-
 "terminate your foes if you would consent to
 "the union of the church, even then, in that
 "fatal moment, you would have rejected your
 "safety or have deceived your God,"

Captivity of
 the Greeks.

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar, with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair: and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of

the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi* or master of the horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin: his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover. A deed thus inhuman, cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released

48 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on
 LXVIII. receiving a Latin ode from Philephus, who had
 chosen a wife in that noble family ". The pride
 or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most
 sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman
 legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Isidore eluded
 the search, and he escaped from Galata in a
 plebeian habit ". The chain and entrance of
 the outward harbour was still occupied by the
 Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had
 signalized their valour in the siege; they em-
 braced the moment of retreat while the Turkish
 mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the
 city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was
 covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd:
 but the means of transportation were scanty:
 the Venetians and Genoese selected their coun-
 trymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises
 of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated
 their houses, and embarked with their most pre-
 cious effects.

Amount of
 the spoil.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an
 historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uni-
 form calamity: the same effects must be produced
 by the same passions; and when those passions
 may be indulged without control, small, alas!
 is the difference between civilized and savage
 man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry
 and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton
 or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but
 according to their maxims (the maxims of anti-
 quity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited;
 and

and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes". The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops : and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit ; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction : the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued 'at four millions of ducats' ; and of this sum, a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation : but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches, excited the most tragic complaints. 'The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God' was despoiled of the oblations of ages ; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the

C H A P. service of mankind. After the divine images had
 LXVIII. been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvass, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated however from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, had sustained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Musulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared²²; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour⁷¹ of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dextrous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror⁷² gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters⁷³, which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome: and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scymetar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command, the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images

C H A P.
LXVIII.
Mahomet II.
visits the city,
St. Sophia,
the palace,
etc.

52 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAPTER. and mosaics, were washed and purified, and re-
 LXVIII. stored to a state of naked simplicity. On the
 same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin*
 or crier ascended the most lofty turret, and pro-
 claimed the *ezan*, or public invitation in the name
 of God and his prophet; the imam preached;
 and Mahomet the second performed the *namaz* of
 prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where
 the Christian mysteries had so lately been cele-
 brated before the last of the Cæsars". From St.
 Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate,
 mansion of an hundred successors of the great
 Constantine; but which in a few hours had been
 stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy
 reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness,
 forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an
 elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider
 " has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and
 " the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers
 " of Afrasiab".

His beha-
 viour to the
 Greeks.

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the
 victory seem complete, till he was informed of
 the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped,
 or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle.
 Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward
 of his death: the body, under an heap of slain,
 was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered
 on his shoes: the Greeks acknowledged with
 tears the head of their late emperor; and, after
 exposing the bloody trophy", Mahomet bestow-
 ed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral.
 After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke",

and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the indignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?" "They were yours," answered the slave, "God had reserved them for your hands." "If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview, he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expence; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropt

54 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. LXVIII. an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succour: such treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited, his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople; and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

He repeoples
and adorns
Constantino-
ple.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine *. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom

of luxury, that the *grand signor* (as he has been C H A P.
 emphatically named by the Italians) appears to LXVIII.
 reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on
 the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be
 secure from the insults of an hostile navy. In
 the new character of a mosch, the cathedral of
 St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue,
 crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded
 with groves and fountains, for the devotion and
 refreshment of the Moslems. The same model
 was imitated in the *jami* or royal moschs; and the
 first of these was built, by Mahomet himself,
 on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles
 and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the
 third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu
 Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the first siege
 of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it
 is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the
 new sultans are girded with the sword of empire".
 Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman
 historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and
 religious edifices that were profaned or erected
 by its Turkish masters: the population was
 speedily renewed; and before the end of Sep-
 tember, five thousand families of Anatolia and
 Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which
 enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy
 their new habitations in the capital. The throne
 of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and
 fidelity of his Moslem subjects: but his rational
 policy aspired to collect the remnant of the

56 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as soon as
LXVIII. they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crozier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence". The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and till it was infringed by Selim the grandson of Mahomet; the Greeks" enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire: but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir,

than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times ".

C H A P.
LXVIII.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties " which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas ", the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks: they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled

Extinction of
the Imperial
Families of
Comnenus
and Palæolo-
gus.

C H A P. the peninsula with rapine and murder: the two
 LXVIII. despots implored the dangerous and humiliating
 aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he
 had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the
 rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of
 blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly
 pledged in the communion and before the altar,
 nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could
 reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They
 ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and
 sword: the alms and succours of the West were
 consumed in civil hostility; and their power was
 only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions.
 The distress and revenge of the weaker rival
 invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season
 of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared
 himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched
 into the Morea with an irresistible force. When
 he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too
 weak," said the sultan, "to control this
 turbulent province: I will take your daughter
 to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder
 of your life in security and honour." Demetrius
 sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and
 his castles; followed to Adrianople his sovereign
 and son; and received for his own maintenance,
 and that of his followers, a city in Thrace,
 and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and
 Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a
 companion of misfortune, the last of the
 COMMENIAN race, who, after the taking of

Loss of the
 Morea,

A. D. 1460.

Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea". In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David; who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond; and the negotiation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears, and the example of a Musulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope, who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Romania: but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother

60 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAPTER.
LXVIII.

Thomas'', be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents: his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burthensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon''. During his transient prosperity, Charles the eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus*: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry''. Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females;

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 61

and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave. C H A P.

LXVIII.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle, in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings". In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a castle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle; she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly; they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheasant*, and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and

Grief and
terror of
Europe,
A. D. 1453.

C H A P. foreign contingency; and, during twelve years,
 LXVIII. till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius, a statesman and orator, describes from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom, "It is a body," says he, "without an head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images, but *they* are unable to command, and none are willing to obey: every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? — what military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages or direct their stranger and incompatible manners?"

"What mortal could reconcile the English
 "with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the
 "Germans with the natives of Hungary and
 "Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the
 "holy war, they must be overthrown by the
 "infidels; if many, by their own weight and
 "confusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he
 was raised to the papal throne, under the name
 of Pius the second, devoted his life to the pro-
 secution of the Turkish war. In the council of
 Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble
 enthusiasm; but when the pontiff appeared at
 Ancona to embark in person with the troops,
 engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day
 was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his
 effective army consisted of some German pilgrims,
 whom he was obliged to disband with indul-
 gences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his
 successors and the powers of Italy were involved
 in the schemes of present and domestic ambition,
 and the distance or proximity of each object
 determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude.
 A more enlarged view of their interest would have
 taught them to maintain a defensive and naval
 war against the common enemy; and the support
 of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians, might
 have prevented the subsequent invasion of the
 kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of
 Otranto by the Turks, diffused a general con-
 sternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly
 beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly

64' THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P dispelled by the death of Mahomet the second,
LXVIII. in the fifty-first year of his age ". His lofty
genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was
possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour;
and the same reign might have been decorated
with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT
ROME ".
Death of
Mahomet II.
A. D. 1481,
May 3. or
July 2.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. — Temporal Dominion of the Popes. — Seditions of the City. — Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia. — Restoration of the Republic. — The Senators. — Pride of the Romans. — Their Wars. — They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon. — The Jubilee. — Noble Families of Rome. — Feud of the Colonna and Ursini.

IN the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquests of Justinian, we have been recalled to the

C H A P.
LXIX.
State and
revolutions
of Rome,
A. D.
1100 — 1500.

C H A P. banks of the Tyber, to the deliverance of the
 LXIX. ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian æra, a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to assert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the same: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

The French
 and German
 emperors of
 Rome,
 A. D.
 800—1100.

IN the beginning of the twelfth century, the æra of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who,

from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours; and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber¹. At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of, “Long life
“and victory to our lord the pope! Long life
“and victory to our lord the emperor; Long
“life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic
“armies¹!” The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image

C H A P.
LXIX.

U H A P. was engraved on the papal coins¹; and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice; LXIX. which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Cæsars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Authority of
the popes in
Rome,

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a

German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election: and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries: and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus* or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties, of Rome; and a more critical enquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal

70 THE DECLINE AND FALL

Q H A P. and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify
LXIX. each other; and that the keys of paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the seventh and his successors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom, must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world: nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest, whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Charlemagne. Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But

virtue;

benefits.

the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants: the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals; and, from the north and west, the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver: but it was soon understood, that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed; and their expences, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit, and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and secure possession

C H A P.
LXIX.

Inconstancy
of Superstition.

72 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P, of the most important blessings. And it was
LXIX. thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned
by the thoughtless Romans; who pillaged the
offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without
computing the number and value of similar visits,
which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege.
Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating
and precarious: and the slave, whose reason is
subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or
pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and
oracles of the priesthood, most powerfully acts
on the mind of a Barbarian: yet such a mind is
the least capable of preferring imagination to
sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an
invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites
and interests of the present world. In the vigour
of health and youth, his practice will perpetually
contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or
sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and
compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety
and remorse. I have already observed, that the
modern times of religious indifference, are the
most favourable to the peace and security of the
clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had
much to hope from the ignorance, and much to
fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth,
whose constant increase must have rendered them
the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately
bestowed by the repentant father and plundered
by the rapacious son: their persons were adored
or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of
the same votaries, was placed on the

altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop; nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet."

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased

C H A P.

LXIX.

Seditions of
Rome against
the popes.

Successors of
Gregory VII.
A. D.

1086—1305.

74 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their
 LXIX. enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of S. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors¹², till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans; their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition¹³ of such capricious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, bare-foot and in procession, visited the tombs of the

Paschal II.
 A. D.
 1099—1118

martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of his successor Gelasius the second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani¹⁴, a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs; and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking

C H A P.
LXIX.

Gelasius II.
A. D.
1118, 1119

76 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. the dust from his feet, the *apostle* withdrew from
LXIX. a city in which his dignity was insulted, and his
 person was endangered; and the vanity of sacer-
 dotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary con-
 fession, that one emperor was more tolerable than
 twenty". These examples might suffice; but I
 cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the
 same age, the second and third of the name of
Lucius II. Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle-
A. D. array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the
1144, 1145. temple by a stone, and expired in a few days.
Lucius III. The latter was severely wounded in the persons
A. D. of his servants. In a civil commotion, several
1181—1185. of his priests had been made prisoners; and the
 inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for
 his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them
 with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses
 with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath,
 that, in this wretched condition, they should
 offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the
 church. Hope or fear, lassitude or remorse, the
 characters of the men, and the circumstances of
 the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of
 peace and obedience; and the pope was restored
 with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vati-
 can, from whence he had been driven with threats
 and violence. But the root of mischief was deep
 and perennial; and a momentary calm was pre-
 ceded and followed by such tempests as had
 almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome con-
 tinually presented the aspect of war and discord;
 the churches and palaces were fortified and

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 77.

assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calistus the second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatized the vices of the rebellious people¹⁶. "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition; cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours if your doors, or your counsels, are shut against them. Dextrous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar

C H A P.

LXIX.

Calistus II.

A. D.

1119—1124.

Innocent II.

A. D.

1130—1143.

Character of
the Romans
by St. Bern-
nard.

CHAP. "arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait
 LXIX. is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity¹⁷; yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century¹⁸.

Political he-
 resy of Ar-
 nold of
 Brescia,
 A. D. 1140.

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety¹⁹. The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia²⁰, whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt: they confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard²¹, who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy: but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and

flexible nature; and his ecclesiastic judges were edified and disarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this master, Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely censured; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and possessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their salvation; and that after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time, the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia, against her bishop, was the first fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the second, in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zurich, now

CHAP. the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station²², a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries²³. In an age less ripe for reformation, the præcursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause: a brave and simple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard²⁴; and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

He exhorts
the Romans
to restore the
republic,

A. D.

1144.—1154.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of classic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their

their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock". Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome". The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the second and Anastasius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth", the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince; they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution.— But the revenge of Adrian was yet

C H A P.
LXIX.

C H A P.
LXIX.

unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans: the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæsar: the præfect of the city pronounced his sentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tyber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master". The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes, his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme

His execution.
A. D. 1155.

jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons¹⁰. But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered¹¹. They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours¹², and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent: but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government¹³, and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore,

Restoration
of the senate,
A. D. 1144.

84 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAPTER. the harmony and proportions of the ancient
LXIX. model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes and ballots, could not easily be adopted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction"? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls; had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word

that arrested the public counsels, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patri- cians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate".

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which The Capitol gave a new existence and era to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences", is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls; and the sanctuary of empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian". The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels: and as often as they ascended the

86 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P.

LXIX.

The coin.

hill; the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper¹; the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are shewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted holding in his left hand a book with this inscription: "THE VOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse; St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield². III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal

The præfect
of the city.

the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions". The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties". A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he invested the præfect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors". In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate, the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently

C H A P.
LXIX.

A. D.
1198—1216.

Number and
choice of the
senate.

C H A P. LXIX. disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators⁴⁴, the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic⁴⁵.

The office of senator.

The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction: and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their

adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure, which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects ". They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with scrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice, attended the *Podestà* ", who maintained at his own expence a decent retinue of servants and horses: his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart

90 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. till he had satisfied the complaints that might be
LXIX. urged against his government.

Brancaleone. It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth
A. D. century, that the Romans called from Bologna the
1252—1258. senator Brancaleone", whose fame and merit have
 been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English
 historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear
 foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged
 him to refuse the honour of their choice: the
 statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office
 prolonged to the term of three years. By the
 guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by
 the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the
 friends of peace and order applauded the firm and
 upright magistrate by whom those blessings were
 restored. No criminals were so powerful as to
 brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the
 senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Anni-
 baldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he
 inexorably demolished, in the city and neigh-
 bourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the
 strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop,
 as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in
 his diocese; and the standard of Brancaleone was
 displayed in the field with terror and effect. His
 services were repaid by the ingratitude of a
 people unworthy of the happiness which they
 enjoyed. By the public robbers; whom he had
 provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited
 to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would
 his life have been spared, if Bologna had not
 possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his de-
 parture, the prudent senator had required the

exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancalone was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble".

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of senator from the Roman people". As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed

C H A P.

LXIX.

Charles of
Anjou,

A. D.

1256—1278.

92 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute
LXIX. term of his life was superseded by a renewal every
 third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third
 obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the govern-
 ment of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law,
 the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity,
 and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less
 essential to the peace of the city than to the in-
 dependence of the church; establishes the annual
 election of the senator; and formally disqualifies
 all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an
 eminent and conspicuous rank ". This prohi-
 bitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by
 Martin the fourth, who humbly solicited the
 suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by
 the authority, of the people, two electors confer-
 red, not on the pope, but on the noble and
 faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the
 supreme administration of the republic ", to hold
 during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure
 by himself or his deputies. About fifty years
 afterwards, the same title was granted to the
 emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of
 Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns,
 who accepted a municipal office in the government
 of their own metropolis.

Pope Mar-
 tin IV.
 A. D. 1281.

The emperor
 Lewis of Ba-
 varia.
 A. D. 1328.

Addressees of
 Rome to the
 emperors.

Conrad III.
 A. D. 1144.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold
 of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the
 church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate
 the favour of the empire, and to recommend their
 merit and services in the cause of Cæsar. The
 style of their ambassadors to Conrad the third

and Frederic the first, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history ". After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. " We beseech
 " your majesty, not to disdain the humility of
 " your sons and vassals, not to listen to the
 " accusations of our common enemies; who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne,
 " who sow the seeds of discord, that they may
 " reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and
 " the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to
 " oppose *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With
 " the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has
 " hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially
 " the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the
 " houses and turrets: some of these are occupied
 " by our troops, and some are levelled with the
 " ground. The Milvian bridge, which they
 " had broken, is restored and fortified for your
 " safe passage; and your army may enter the city
 " without being annoyed from the castle of
 " St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all
 " that we design, is for your honour and service,
 " in the loyal hope, that you will speedily appear
 " in person, to vindicate those rights which have
 " been invaded by the clergy, to revive the
 " dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame
 " and glory of your predecessors. May you fix
 " your residence in Rome, the capital of the

94 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAPTER. " world; give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic
 LXIX. " kingdom; and imitate the example of Con-
 " stantine and Justinian ", who by the vigour
 " of the senate and people obtained the sceptre
 " of the earth ". But these splendid and falla-
 cious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the
 Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy
 Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon
 after his return from the Holy Land.

Frederic I.
 A. D. 1155.

His nephew and successor Frederic Barbarossa,
 was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor
 had any of the successors of Otho acquired
 such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy.
 Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes,
 he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the
 ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him
 in a free and florid oration: " Incline your ear
 " to the queen of cities; approach with a peaceful
 " and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which
 " has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is
 " impatient to crown her legitimate emperor.
 " Under your auspicious influence, may the
 " primitive times be restored. Assert the prero-
 " gatives of the eternal city, and reduce under
 " her monarchy, the insolence of the world. You
 " are not ignorant, that, in former ages, by
 " the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and
 " discipline of the equestrian order, she extended
 " her victorious arms to the East and West,
 " beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the
 " ocean. By our sins, in the absence of our
 " princes, the noble institution of the senate has

" sunk in oblivion : and with our prudence, our C H A P.
 " strength has likewise decreased. We have LXIX.
 " revived the senate, and the equestrian order ;
 " the counsels of the one, the arms of the other,
 " will be devoted to your person and the service
 " of the empire. Do you not hear the language
 " of the Roman matron ? You were a guest, I
 " have adopted you as a citizen ; a Transalpine
 " stranger, I have elected you for my sovereign " ;
 " and given you myself, and all that is mine.
 " Your first and most sacred duty, is to swear
 " and subscribe, that you will shed your blood
 " for the republic ; that you will maintain in
 " peace and justice, the laws of the city and
 " charters of your predecessors ; and that you
 " will reward with five thousand pounds of silver
 " the faithful senators who shall proclaim your
 " titles in the Capitol. With the name, assume
 " the character, of Augustus." The flowers of
 Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted ; but
 Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted
 the orators in the high tone of royalty and
 conquest. " Famous indeed have been the fortitude
 " and wisdom of the ancient Romans : but your
 " speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I
 " could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in
 " your actions. Like all sublunary things, Rome
 " has felt the vicissitudes of time and fortune.
 " Your noblest families were translated to the
 " East, to the royal city of Constantine ; and the
 " remains of your strength and freedom have

96. THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. " long since been exhausted by the Greeks and
LXIX. " Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the
" ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the
" senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline
" of the camp, the valour of the legions? you
" will find them in the German republic. It is
" not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments
" and virtues of empire have likewise migrated
" beyond the Alps to a more deserving people ":
" they will be employed in your defence, but
" they claim your obedience. You pretend that
" myself or my predecessors have been invited
" by the Romans: you mistake the word, they
" were not invited; they were implored. From
" its foreign and domestic tyrants, the city was
" rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes
" repose in our country: and their dominion was
" the price of your deliverance. Under that
" dominion your ancestors lived and died. I
" claim by the right of inheritance and possession,
" and who shall dare to extort you from my
" hands? Is the hand of the Franks " and Ger-
" mans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished?
" Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with
" the banners of a potent and invincible army?
" You impose conditions on your master; you
" require oaths: if the conditions are just, an
" oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal.
" Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to
" the meanest of my subjects. Will not my
" sword be unsheathed in the defence of the
" Capitol?

" Capitol? by that sword the northern kingdom c H A P.
 " of Denmark has been restored to the Roman LXIX.
 " empire. You prescribe the measure and the
 " objects of my bounty, which flows in a
 " copious, but a voluntary stream. All will be
 " given to patient merit; all will be denied to
 " rude importunity ". Neither the emperor nor
 the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions
 of dominion and liberty. United with the pope,
 and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued
 his march to the Vatican: his coronation was
 disturbed by a fall from the Capitol; and if the
 numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in
 the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp
 in the presence of a city of which he styled
 himself the sovereign. About twelve years after-
 wards, he besieged Rome, to seat an antipope
 in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan gallies
 were introduced into the Tyber: but the senate
 and people were saved by the arts of negotiation
 and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or
 his successors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their
 laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the
 crusades, and the independence of Lombardy
 and Germany; they courted the alliance of the
 Romans; and Frederic the second offered in the
 Capitol the great standard, the *Caroccio* of
 Milan ". After the extinction of the house of
 Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps;
 and their last coronations betrayed the impotence
 and poverty of the Teutonic Cæsars ".

C H A P.

LXIX.

Wars of the
Romans
against the
neighbour-
ing cities.

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian "amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Præneste, our summer retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was, gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tyber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate; and if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the

first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; sallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours; engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskillful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge; and instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon: the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albanum, Tusculum, Præneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans⁶⁶. Of these⁶⁷, Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tyber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace: Fregati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum: Tibur or Tivoli has resumed the honours of a city⁶⁸, and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans

C H A P. was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies : in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum " and Viterbo " might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterward they marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Thoulouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts, they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after some irregular sallies,

LXIX.
Battle of
Tusculum,
A. D. 1167.

Battle of
Viterbo,
A. D. 1234.

they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian princes, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election : the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood ; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour, nor could the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established, that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most respectable of the clergy were divided; and the distant princes, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the spurious,

The election
of the popes.

C H A P.
LXIX.

Right of the
cardinals
established
by Alexan-
der III.
A. D. 1179.

from the legitimate, idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to an hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience; and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the third, who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals. The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the tenth, seldom exceeded twenty, or twenty-five, persons. By this wise regulation, all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But as the concurrence of two

thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of an head. A vacancy of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the tenth, who resolved to prevent the future abuse; and his bull, after some opposition, has been consecrated in the code of the canon law⁷⁰. Nine days are allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope, and the arrival of the absent cardinals: on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, without any separation of walls or curtains; a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their table is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government, of the church: all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed,

C H A P. but the principle of confinement is vigorous and
 LXIX, entire: they are still urged, by the personal motives
 of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment
 of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot
 or secret votes has wrapt the struggles of the
 conclave" in the silky veil of charity and politeness". By these institutions, the Romans were
 excluded from the election of their prince and
 bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious
 liberty, they seemed insensible of the loss of this
 inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of
 A. D. 1328. Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho.
 After some negotiation with the magistrates, the
 Roman people was assembled" in the square
 before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John
 the twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of
 his successor was ratified by their consent and
 applause. They freely voted for a new law,
 that their bishop should never be absent more
 than three months in the year, and two days
 journey from the city; and that if he neglected
 to return on the third summons, the public ser-
 vant should be degraded and dismissed". But
 Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices
 of the times: beyond the precincts of a German
 camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the
 Romans despised their own workmanship; the
 antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sover-
 eign"; and the exclusive right of the cardinals
 was more firmly established by this unseasonable
 attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expences of servants and strangers who attended the court. After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished

C H A P. LXIX.

Absence of
the popes
from Rome.

CHAP. by new tumults, and again summoned by the
 LXIX. imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In
 these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of
 the Vatican were seldom long, or far, distant from the
 metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth
 century the apostolic throne was transported, as
 it might seem for ever, from the Tyber to the
 Rhone; and the cause of the transmigration may
 be deduced from the furious contest between
 Boniface the eighth and the king of France".
 The spiritual arms of excommunication and inter-
 dict were repulsed by the union of the three
 estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church;
 but the pope was not armed against the carnal
 weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to
 employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without
 the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were
 assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been
 secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French
 minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but
 hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the
 inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their
 allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boni-
 face, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his
 chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of
 old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign
 adversary, was content to execute the orders of
 his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna,
 he was insulted with words and blows; and
 during a confinement of three days his life was
 threatened by the hardships which they inflicted
 on the obstinacy which they provoked. They

Boni-
 face VIII.
 A. D.
 1294—1303.

strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint; a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition⁷⁸.

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted, that the

C H A P.
LXIX.

Translation
of the holy
see to
Avignon.
A. D. 1309.

G. H. A. P. unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the fifth". The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon", which flourished above seventy years" the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, by the Rhone, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible: the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county", a populous and fertile spot; and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins". Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 109

Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals **, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR **, was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and

C H A P.

LXIX.

Institution of
the jubilee,
or holy year,
A. D. 1300.

C H A P. LXIX. revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To find without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dextrous clergy, well apprized of the contagion of example; yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who

assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul". It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the sixth⁸⁷ to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the mosaic jubilee". His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop". To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and

C H A P.

LXIX.

The second
 jubilee,
 A. D. 1350.

112 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. twenty-five, years; although the second of these

LXIX. terms is commensurate with the life of Christ.

The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubilee: yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people."

The nobles
or barons of
Rome.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken; their slaves were enfranchised; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was subject to the laws". But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the state: the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection,

affection, they were aliens to their country": and a genuine Roman, could such have been produced, might have renounced these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly styled themselves the princes, of Rome". After a dark series of revolutions, all records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of surnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of valour. These examples might be readily presumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls, is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles". In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to christianity; and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the son of Leo were signalized in the cause of Gregory the seventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance, that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the

Family of
Leo the Jew.

114 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. LXIX. clergy and people supported his cause; he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time". The old consular line of the *Frangipani* discover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corfi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the *Capizucchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero".

The Colonna,
na,

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose private story is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. "The name and arms of Colonna" have been

the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple". They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum; a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine"; and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit, and always by fortune"". About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in

C H A P.
LXIX.

116 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar;
 LXIX. while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar¹⁰¹. After his decease, their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms¹⁰². He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tyber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Præneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum: they prompted and directed the enterprize of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins

which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. All the spiritual censures and disqualifications were abolished by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalized in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as an hero superior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Persecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his distress, he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country: and when he was asked, "where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Urfini migrated from Spoleto; the sons of Ursus, as they are styled in the twelfth century, from some eminent person who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength

C H A P.

LXIX.

and Urfini.

118 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. of their towers, the honours of the senate and
 LXIX. sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestin the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage¹⁶. Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celestin¹⁷; and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna, will likewise redound to the glory of the Ursini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten¹⁸. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they disputed in arms the vacant republic: and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities, the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their

Their hereditary feuds.

alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the sword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna¹⁰². His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the assassination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and bears, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble COLUMN¹⁰³.

C H A P. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch. — Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi. — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death. — Return of the Popes from Avignon. — Great Schism of the West. — Re-union of the Latin Church. — Last Struggles of Roman Liberty. — Statutes of Rome. — Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

C H A P.

LXX.

Petrarch,
A. D. 1304,
June 19 —
A. D. 1374,
July 19.

IN the apprehension of Modern times, Petrarch^s is the Italian songster of Laura and Love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affectation, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation: yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover, I am still less qualified

to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned³; for a matron so prolific⁴, that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children⁵, while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse⁶. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings⁷ be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man, who by precept and example, revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry⁸, and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court⁹, was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor¹⁰: the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol, inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard¹¹; and the laurel¹² was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or

C H A P. LXX. prudence of Laura was inexorable¹², he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauds the success of his own labours; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice, was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes: and on the same day, in the solitude of Vauchuse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity: but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and, after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

His poetic
coronation at
Rome,

A. D. 1341,
April 8.

The ceremony of his coronation¹³ was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguillara, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald, Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice

repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompence of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins, confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son: he dissembled the faults

C H A P. of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world: the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhone and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence¹⁵, Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were astonished by a revolution which realized for a moment his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages¹⁶: the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard¹⁷ will sometimes vivify the copious, but simple, narrative of the Florentine¹⁸, and more especially of the Roman¹⁹ historian.

Birth, character, and patriotic designs of Rienzi.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome²⁰. From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius

of the young plebeian : he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity ; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language ; and was often provoked to exclaim , “ Where are now these Romans ? their “ virtue, their justice, their power ? why was I “ not born in those happy times ” ? ” When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind : but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty ; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour ; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting , both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive : the multitude is always prone to envy and censure : he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins ; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome : the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or

C H A P. LXX. pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters²²: they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions, from the dogs and serpents, of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran²³. A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary²⁴; and descanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the

serious tendency of such representations : they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus " was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of an hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprize; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without

C H A P.

LXX.

He assumes
the govern-
ment of
Rome,A. D. 1347,
May 20.

C H A P. arms, before the church of St. Angelo, to provide
 LXX. for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right-hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotions which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour, he returned

to

to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreshment he continued the same speedy career till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed: and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration

CHAPTER.
LXX.

with the title
and office of
tribune.

Laws of the
good state.

130 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. and maintenance of the good estate. By the
LXX. first he fulfils the wish of honesty and inexperience; that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the state: that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways and the free passage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory; had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol, could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast, a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce; a standing militia of

three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, cloathed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins²⁶; and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious œconomy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath, of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath

C H A P.
LXX.

C H A P. was successively pronounced by the several orders
LXX. of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; and Clement the sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost: enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people²⁷.

Freedom and
 prosperity of
 the Roman
 republic.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses,

the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Ursini family, was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses: and either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tyber²². His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and after a brief confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows.

LXX.

C H A P. After such an example, none who were conscious
 LXX. of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The tribune
 is respected
 in Italy, etc.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great fœderative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined

with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven C H A P.
 for the success of their undertaking. Could pas- LXX.
 sion have listened to reason; could private interest
 have yielded to the public welfare; the supreme
 tribunal and confederate union of the Italian re-
 public might have healed their intestine discord,
 and closed the Alps against the Barbarians of
 the North. But the propitious season had elapsed;
 and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and
 many inferior cities, offered their lives and for-
 tunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy
 and Tuscany must despise, or hate, the plebeian
 author of a free constitution. From them, how-
 ever, and from every part of Italy, the tribune
 received the most friendly and respectful answers:
 they were followed by the ambassadors of the
 princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux,
 on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the
 low-born notary could assume the familiar or
 majestic courtesy of a sovereign". The most
 glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal
 to his justice from Lewis king of Hungary, who
 complained, that his brother, and her husband,
 had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of
 Naples": her guilt or innocence was pleaded in
 a solemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the
 advocates", the tribune adjourned this weighty
 and invidious cause, which was soon determined
 by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps,
 more especially at Avignon, the revolution was
 the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause.

136 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps
LXX, the secret counsellor, of Rienzi: his writings
 and cele- breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and
 brated by joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude
Petrarch, for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties
 of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the
 Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero,
 and mingles with some apprehension and advice
 the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rising
 greatness of the republic."

**His vices and
 follies,**

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions,
 the Roman hero was fast declining from the meri-
 dian of fame and power; and the people, who
 had gazed with astonishment on the ascending
 meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its
 course, and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity.
 More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising
 than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not
 balanced by cool and commanding reason: he
 magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of
 hope and fear; and prudence, which could not
 have erected, did not presume to fortify, his
 throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues
 were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices;
 justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion,
 and the desire of fame with puerile and ostenta-
 tious vanity. He might have learned, that the
 ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the
 public opinion, were not distinguished in style,
 habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebei-
 an "; and that as often as they visited the city
 on foot, a single *viator*, or beadle, attended the

exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor

C H A P.
LXX.

“NICOLAS, SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF ROME; DEFENDER OF ITALY”; FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST:” his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person, till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistracy by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and inclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head: a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

138 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. The ambition of the honours of chivalry "

LXX.

The pomp of
his knight-
hood,

A. D. 1347,
August 1.

betrayed the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran, the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or secretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by pope Sylvester ". With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship he shewed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his

sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We summon to our tribunal pope Clement; and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred college of cardinals". We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire". Unsheathing his maiden-sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude

C H A P. was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent
LXX. day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi²²;
 and corona- seven crowns of different leaves or metals were
 tion. successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expence; and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

Fear and
 hatred of the
 nobles of
 Rome.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in

the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though some might sympathize in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings; the countenance of the tribune was dark and

C H A P. severe; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. **LXX.** But in this decisive moment, Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "by the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to support the good estate with your lives and fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution; they received the communion with the tribune; assisted at the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.

They oppose
Rienzi in
arms.

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their

deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were hastily restored; the vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum: and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were strong and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amused by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ursini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headstrong valour of

C H A P. the nobles in the rear; and after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without

LXX.

Defeat and
death of the
Colonna,
Nov. 20.

Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the seven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent of the veteran chief, who had survived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops: he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted with some truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate. His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family. The people sympathized in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims

victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot, O H A P.
 that he conferred on his son the honour of LXX.
 knighthood: and the ceremony was accomplished
 by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of
 the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman
 ablution from a pool of water, which was yet
 polluted with patrician blood “.

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, Fall and
 the delay of a single month, which elapsed be- flight of the
 tween the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In tribune Rien-
 the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remain- zi,
 ed of his civil virtues, without acquiring the A. D. 1347,
 fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous Dec. 15.
 opposition was formed in the city; and when
 the tribune proposed in the public council “ to
 impose a new tax, and to regulate the government
 of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his
 measures; repelled the injurious charge of treach-
 ery and corruption; and urged him to prove, by
 their forcible exclusion, that, if the populace
 adhered to his cause, it was already disclaimed
 by the most respectable citizens. The pope and
 the sacred college had never been dazzled by his
 specious professions; they were justly offended by
 the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate
 was sent to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty,
 and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull
 of excommunication, in which the tribune is
 degraded from his office, and branded with the
 guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy “.

The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled
 to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge

C H A P. engaged them in the service of the church; but
LXX. as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino " in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people was silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Revolutions
of Rome,

A. D.

1347—1354.

Without drawing his sword, count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name, that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom

and empire had vanished; their fallen spirit C H A P.
 would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been LXX.
 smoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was
 scarcely observed, that the new senators derived
 their authority from the Apostolic See, that four
 cardinals were appointed to reform with dictatorial
 power the state of the republic. Rome was again
 agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who
 detested each other, and despised the commons:
 their hostile fortresses, both in town and country,
 again rose and were again demolished; and the
 peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devour-
 ed, says the Florentine historian, by these rapa-
 cious wolves. But when their pride and avarice
 had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a
 confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or
 avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol
 was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in
 the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the
 two senators, Colonna escaped from the window
 of the palace, and Urfini was stoned at the foot
 of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune
 was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cer-
 roni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni
 was unequal to the times; and after a faint
 struggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a
 decent fortune to the comforts of a rural life.
 Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was
 distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the
 language of a patriot, and trode in the footsteps
 of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death,
 and his own death was the reward of his cruelties.

148 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of
LXX. Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate."

Adventures
of Rienzi.

After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic; and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost". Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the saviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop.

Rienzi was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet". Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the bible, he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

C H A P.
LXX.
A prisoner at
Avignon.
A. D. 1351.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded, that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy, with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, cardinal Albornoz", a consummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first

Rienzi, senator of Rome.
A. D. 1354.

150 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. LXX. reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a second administration of four months, Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money; a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered,

the obligations of the debtor". A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had transfixed his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder; the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed,

C H A P.

LXX.

His death,
A. D. 1354,
September 8,

Petrarch im-
vites and up-
braids the
emperor
Charles IV.
A. D. 1355,
January —
May.

if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke, the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots¹¹.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate

the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard".

C H A R.
LXX.

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish, was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recal the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language". The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education: and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon; the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tyber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was

He solicits
the popes of
Avignon to
fix their resi-
dence at
Rome.

154 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the
LXX. Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse. But the cloud which hung over the seven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the twenty-second, Benedict the twelfth, and Clement the sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, was finally accomplished by Gregory the eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deserved the epithet of wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the fifth resided three years in the

Return of
 Urban V.
 A. D. 1367,
 October 16—
 A. D. 1370,
 April 17.

Vatican with safety and honour: his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth; the migration of Gregory the eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadors of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these visionary females".

CHAP.
LXX.

Final return
of Gregory
XI.
A. D. 1377.
January 17.

Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import". While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and

156 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tyber ". But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount Cassin had been consulted, whether he would accept the triple crown " from the clergy and people: " I am a citizen of " Rome ", " replied that venerable ecclesiastic, " and my first law is the voice of my country ".

His death,
A. D. 1378,
March 27.

If superstition will interpret an untimely death "; if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free and regular election; which had been inspired, as usual, by the holy Ghost: he was

Election of
Urban VI.
April 9.

adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till the summer-heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostle and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconsistent, narratives, the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiousness of the seditious Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and

C H A P.
LXX.

Election of
Clement VII.
Sept. 21.

C H A P. encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels;
 LXX. the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets, or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools⁷. The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France⁸. The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castille, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience,

of Clement the seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the ninth, Innocent the seventh, and Gregory the twelfth.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhone, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors. They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy; and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people

Great schism
of the West,
A. D.
1378—1418.

Calamities of
Rome.

C H A P. were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former, he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church; while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome⁷¹.

Negotiations
for peace and
union,
A. D.

1394—1407.

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of

of theological science". Prudently waving all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should *subtract* " their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of an hasty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the insanity of Charles the sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrariorio, who assumed the name of Gregory the twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the success of their commission, the ambassadors

C H A P. LXX. solicited a conference with the magistrate of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears "an animal fearful of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus for a short remnant of life and power, will these aged priests endanger the peace and salvation of the "Christian world?"

Council of
Pisa,
A. D. 1409.

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon;

the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the twelfth; and Benedict the thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance; the emperor Sigismond acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the twenty-third was the first victim: he fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambassador convened the session, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the

Council of
Constance,
A. D.
1414—1418.

C H A P. obstinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with slow and cautious steps, to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the *English*⁷⁵: the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons, the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican⁷⁶.

Election of
Martin V.

Martin V.
A. D. 1417,
Eugenius IV.
A. D. 1431,
Nicholas V.
A. D. 1447.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the fifth⁷⁷, and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. 165

successors, Eugenius the fourth was the *last* pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people", and Nicholas the fifth, the *last* who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor".

I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city.

Last revolt of
Rome,
A. D. 1434,
May 29—
October 26.

They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dextrously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff

C H. A. P.
LXX.

Last corona-
tion of a Ger-
man emperor
Frederic III.
A. D. 1452,
March 18.

The statutes
and govern-
ment of
Rome.

understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and imposing the best security of oaths^o and treaties, Nicholas received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage of the Vatican; and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace^o. According to the laws of Rome^o, her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city;

with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. C H A P. LXX.

The election was annual: a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expence and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk; he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre; the sound of trumpets announced his approach; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers; the two *collaterals*, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attested by the laws; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice: the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three *conservators*, who were changed four times in each year: the

CHAPTER, militia of the thirteen regions assembled under
 LXX. the banners of their respective chiefs, or *capitanei*, and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legislature consisted of the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty, counsellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the appro-

bation, of Gregory the thirteenth": this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol". The policy of the Cæsars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic; while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwel or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened

C H A P.
LXX.

Conspiracy of
Porcaro,
A. D. 1453,
January 9.

C H A P. with apparent pleasure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening, a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their

enterprize: the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country". But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of

172 THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. bread, such accidental tumults may be found in
LXX. the bosom of the most abject servitude.

**Last disorders
of the nobles
of Rome.**

But the independence of the nobles, which was
fomented by discord, survived the freedom of
the commons, which must be founded in union.

A privilege of rapine and oppression was long
maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses
were a fortress and a sanctuary: and the ferocious
train of banditti and criminals whom they pro-
tected from the law, repaid the hospitality with
the service of their swords and daggers. The
private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews,
sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds.
Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was
distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival
houses: after the conflagration of his palace, the
protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded;
and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered
on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclama-
tions of the victorious Ursini ". But the popes
no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had
strength to command, if they had resolution to
claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the
strangers, who observed these partial disorders,
admired the easy taxes and wise administration of
the ecclesiastical state ".

**The popes
acquire the
absolute do-
minion of
Rome,
A. D. 1500,
etc.**

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend
on the force of opinion: and, if that opinion be
supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may
idly waste itself in the air; and the helpless
priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble
or a plebeian adversary. But after their return

from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects". Since the union of the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the sixth, the martial operations of Julius the second, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times". In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with

C H A P. gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they
LXX. supplied with art the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chasing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals ". After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples ". The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum,

which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expences, which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power, of the lord". The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

A Christian, a philosopher", and a patriot, will be equally scandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the follies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced

C H A P.

LXX.

The ecclesiastical government.

C H A P. by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country: the reign of a *young* statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy, as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the kalendar " above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens; and to consider the missal, or the crucifix, as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners; from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession; but the sacerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the fifth. " burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome ", formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal
use

Sixtus V.

A. D.

1585 — 1590.

use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful, or an injured, people". The wild and original character of Sixtus the fifth stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind; nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome".

C H A P.
LXX.

C H A P LXXI.

*Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century.
— Four Causes of Decay and Destruction. — Example
of the Coliseum. — Renovation of the City — Conclusion
of the whole Work.*

C H A P.

LXXI.
View and
discourse of
Poggius from
the Capito-
line hill,
A. D. 1430.

IN the last days of pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius¹ and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation². The place and the object gave ample scope for moralizing on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. “ Her primæval
“ state, such as she might appear in a remote
“ age, when Evander entertained the stranger of
“ Troy³, has been delineated by the fancy of
“ Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage
“ and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it
“ was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple;
“ the temple is overthrown, the gold has been

" pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished
 " her revolution, and the sacred ground is again
 " disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill
 " of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly
 " the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of
 " the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by
 " the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched
 " with the spoils and tributes of so many nations.
 " This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen!
 " how changed! how defaced! the path of victory
 " is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the
 " senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast
 " your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among
 " the shapeless and enormous fragments, the
 " marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues,
 " the porticoes of Nero's palace: survey the
 " other hills of the city, the vacant space is
 " interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The
 " forum of the Roman people, where they
 " assembled to enact their laws and elect their
 " magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation
 " of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception
 " of swine and buffaloes. The public and private
 " edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie
 " prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs
 " of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more
 " visible, from the stupendous relics that have
 " survived the injuries of time and fortune."

These relics are minutely described by Poggius, His descrip-
 tion of the
 ruins.
 one of the first who raised his eyes from the
 monuments of legendary, to those of classic,
 superstition'. 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a

C H A P. sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *therme* or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expence with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and

private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine, were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the banks of the Tyber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure

C H A P.
LXXI.

Gradual decay of Rome.

C H A P. the progress of decay, and to ascertain at each
LXXI. æra the state of each edifice, would be an endless and a useless labour, and I shall content myself with two observations which will introduce a short enquiry into the general causes and effects.

1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome *. His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could observe the visible remains, he could listen to the tradition of the people, and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period, and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the Septizonium of Severus *, which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

Four causes
of destruc-
tion:

After a diligent enquiry, I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a

thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence: yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy however to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids, attracted the curiosity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn, have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæsars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations: but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful

C H A P.

LXXX

I. The injuries of nature;

hurricanes and earthquakes;

fires;

C H A P. agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may
 LXXI. be kindled and propagated by the industry or
 negligence of mankind; and every period of the
 Roman annals is marked by the repetition of
 similar calamities. A memorable conflagration,
 the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued,
 though with unequal fury, either six, or nine
 days ¹¹. Innumerable buildings, crowded in close
 and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for
 the flames; and when they ceased, four only of
 the fourteen regions were left entire; three were
 totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by
 the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices ¹². In
 the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose
 with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory
 of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the
 arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monu-
 ments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the
 days of distress and anarchy, every wound is
 mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage
 be restored either by the public care of govern-
 ment or the activity of private interest. Yet two
 causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of
 fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed
 city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick,
 timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed;
 but the flames may play without injury or effect
 on the naked walls, and massy arches, that have
 been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is
 among the common and plebeian habitations, that
 a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a

conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped, are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course: a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled in the spring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tyber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood¹³. Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks¹⁴; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was incumbered with ruins¹⁵, the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The

C H A P. LXXI. project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests¹⁶; nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of nature¹⁷; and if such were the ravages of the Tyber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth, that has been washed down from the hills, is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level¹⁸: and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river¹⁹.

II. The hostile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians.

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to enquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History, I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleasing romance, that the Goths and Vandals sallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin²⁰, to break the chains, and to

chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genferic were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth²¹, the Vandals on the fifteenth, day²²; and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genferic affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and

C H A P. LXXI. beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric²³; and that the momentary resentment of Totila²⁴ was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses, of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East²⁵ affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic: nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon²⁶.

III. The use
and abuse of
the materials.

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind, is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired

and used; on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation; according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals". Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some Barbarian chief; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon". The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine; the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and after foreign and

C H A P.

LXXI.

C H A P. domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains
 LXXI. of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments; but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars: but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction, and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna²² and Rome²³. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tyber and the sea; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the slothful luxury of Naples²⁴. But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments

which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors: the use of baths" and porticoes was forgotten: in the sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyster. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests", who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded; perhaps to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havock which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's".

G H A P. A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord¹⁵, and many capital structures, had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity¹⁶. The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people¹⁷; and I hesitate to believe, that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand¹⁸, the increase of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

IV. I have reserved for the last, the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel; without

without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign, or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters, the causes and effects of the public disorders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword; and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for safety or offence, against the domestic enemies, whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and designs were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers " that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law, which confined their height to the measure of fourscore feet, may be extended with suitable latitude to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancalione in the establishment of peace and justice, was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the fifth, forty-four still stood in one

C H A P. of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city.
 LXXI. To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines²². With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo²³; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army²⁴; the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks²⁵; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Urfini families²⁶; and the rough fortrefs has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome,

without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal and poet of the times, "were crushed by the weight and velocity of enormous stones"; the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they razed to the ground". In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city, and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," says the laureat, "the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time nor the Barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword". The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

C H A P.

LXXI.

The Coli-
seum or am-
phitheatre of
Titus.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM¹⁰, either from its magnitude or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum, many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals¹¹: the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chafms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades¹². Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North;

and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression; which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall." In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum".

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the

Games of Rome.

carnival sports, of the Testacean mount and the Circus Agonalis", were regulated by the law or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*", as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expence"; and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times".

A bull-feast in the Coliseum, A. D. 1332, September 3.

A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and.

6 H A P.
LXXI.

Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacovà di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Urfini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Urfini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the *arena*, or pit, to encounter the wild-bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corfi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone, like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn

“ under the ashes,” a discreet lover : “ I adore C H A P.
 “ Lavinia, or Lucretia,” the ambiguous declara- LXXX.
 tion of a modern passion : “ My faith is as pure,”
 the motto of a white livery : “ Who is stronger
 “ than myself ? ” of a lion’s hide : “ If I am
 “ drowned in blood, what a pleasant death,”
 the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or
 prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the
 field, which was occupied by three of their he-
 reditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the
 lofty greatness of the Colonna name : “ Though
 “ sad, I am strong : ” “ Strong as I am great : ”
 “ If I fall,” addressing himself to the spectators,
 “ you fall with me : ” — intimating (says the
 contemporary writer) that while the other fami-
 lies were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone
 were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats
 of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody.
 Every champion successively encountered a wild
 bull ; and the victory may be ascribed to the
 quadrupedes, since no more than eleven were
 left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded
 and eighteen killed on the side of their adver-
 saries. Some of the noblest families might mourn,
 but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of
 St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afford-
 ed a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it
 was not in such conflicts that the blood of the
 Romans should have been shed ; yet in blaming
 their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their
 gallantry ; and the noble volunteers, who display
 their magnificence, and risk their lives, under

C H A P. the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous
LXXI. sympathy than the thousands of captives and
malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the
scene of slaughter ”.

Injuries,

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum “; and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans “. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the fourth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent “. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who

views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes". A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion, by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs".

C H A P.
LXXI.
and consecration of
the Coliseum.

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments, whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference of the Romans themselves"; he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhone was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis". The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving.

Ignorance
and barbarism of the
Romans.

C H A P. " Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for
 LXXI. " the greatest part, decorated with precious
 " stones, and whose value might be esteemed at
 " one third of the world itself. The statues of
 " all the provinces were arranged in order, each
 " with a small bell suspended from its neck;
 " and such was the contrivance of art magic",
 " that if the province rebelled against Rome, the
 " statue turned round to that quarter of the hea-
 " vens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capi-
 " tol reported the prodigy, and the senate was
 " admonished of the impending danger." A
 second example of less importance, though of
 equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two
 marble horses, led by two naked youths, which
 have since been transported from the baths of Con-
 stantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless appli-
 cation of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may
 perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors
 should not have been removed above four hun-
 dred years from the age of Pericles to that of Ti-
 berius: they should not have been transformed
 into two philosophers or magicians, whose naked-
 ness was the symbol of truth and knowledge,
 who revealed to the emperor his most secret ac-
 tions; and, after refusing all pecuniary recompence,
 solicited the honour of leaving this eternal mo-
 nument of themselves". Thus awake to the
 power of magic, the Romans were insensible to
 the beauties of art; no more than five statues
 were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the
 multitudes which chance or design had buried
 under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately

delayed till a safer and more enlightened age". C H A P. LXXI.
 The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by some labourers in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave". The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-suit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the sentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen".

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his successors, restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city, is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness: the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty

Restoration
 and orna-
 ments of the
 city.
 A. D. 1420.
 etc.

C H A P.
LXXI.

harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis, is the residence of a monarch, the expence of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire: and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brasil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants⁷⁴; and within the spacious inclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government; to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expence of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more

decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the second, Leo the tenth, and Sixtus the fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old, or of new, arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student⁷⁵: and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North.

C H A P.

LXXI.

Final conclusion.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene, in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorders of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

LAUSANNE,

June 27, 1787.

GENERAL INDEX.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume,
and the Figures to the Page.

A.

- A***BAN*, the Saracen, heroism of his widow, ix. 234.
Abbassides, elevation of the house of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, ix. 344.
Abdallah, the Saracen, his excursion to plunder the fair of Abyla, ix. 241. His African expedition, 281.
Abdalmalek, caliph of the Saracens, refuses tribute to the emperor of Constantinople, and establishes a national mint, ix. 328.
Abdalrabman, the Saracen, establishes his throne at Cordova in Spain, ix. 349. Splendour of his court, 352. His estimate of his happiness, 354.
Abdelazir, the Saracen, his treaty with Theodemir the Gothic prince of Spain, ix. 307. His death, 310.
Abderame, his expedition to France, and victories there, ix. 338. His death, 343.
Abdol Moralleh, the grandfather of the prophet Mahomet, his history, ix. 115.
Abgarus, enquiry into the authenticity of his correspondence with Jesus Christ, ix. 6.
Abgarus, the last king of Edeffa, sent in chains to Rome, i. 276.
Ablavius, the confidential præfect under Constantine the Great, a conspiracy formed against him on that emperor's death, iii. 99. Is put to death, 101.
Abu Ayub, his history, and the veneration paid to his memory by the Mahometans, ix. 326. xii. 55.
Abubeker, the friend of Mahomet, is one of his first converts, ix. 138. Flies from Mecca with him, 143. Succeeds Mahomet as caliph of the Saracens, 180. His character, 205.
Abu Caab commands the Andalusian Moors who subdued the island of Crete, ix. 368.

I N D E X.

- Abu Sopian*, prince of Mecca, conspires the death of Mahomet, ix. 143. Battles of Beder and Ohud, 152. Besieges Medina without success, 155. Surrenders Mecca to Mahomet, and receives him as a prophet, 160.
- Abu Taber*, the Carmathian, pillages Mecca, ix. 386.
- Abulfeda*, his account of the splendour of the caliph Moc-tader, ix. 352.
- Abulpharagius*, primate of the Eastern Jacobites, some account of, viii. 290. His encomium on wisdom and learning, ix. 356.
- Abundantius*, general of the East, and patron of the eunuch Eutropius, is disgraced and exiled by him, v. 310.
- Abyla*, the fair of, plundered by the Saracens, ix. 242.
- Abyssinia*, the inhabitants of, described, vii. 297. Their alliance with the emperor Justinian, 298. Ecclesiastical history of, viii. 302.
- Acacius*, bishop of Amida, an uncommon instance of episcopal benevolence, v. 348.
- Achaia*, its extent, i. 31.
- Acre*, the memorable siege of, by the crusaders, x. 356. Final loss of, 376.
- Actions*, Institutes of Justinian respecting, viii. 64.
- Actium*, a review of Roman affairs after the battle of, i. 78.
- Adaufus*, the only martyr of distinction during the persecution under Diocletian, ii. 393.
- Adolphus*, the brother of Alaric, brings him a reinforcement of troops, v. 243. Is made count of the domestics to the new emperor Attalus, 250. Succeeds his brother as king of the Goths, and concludes a peace with Honorius, 270.
- Adoption*, the two kinds of, under the Greek empire, x. 279.
- Adoration* of the Roman emperor, custom of, and derivation of the term, x. 26.
- Adorno*, the Genoese governor of Phocæa, conveys Amurath II. from Asia to Europe, xi. 294.
- Adrian I.* pope, his alliance with Charlemagne against the Lombards, ix. 32. His reception of Charlemagne at Rome

I N D E X.

- Rome 36. Asserts the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, 40.
- Adultery*, distinctions of, and how punished by Augustus, viii. 77. By the Christian emperors, 79.
- Ælia Capitolina* founded on mount Sion by Hadrian, ii. 230.
- Ælius Patus*, his *Tripartite*, the oldest work of Roman jurisprudence, viii. 18.
- Æmilianus*, governor of Pannonia and Mæsia, routs the barbarous invaders of the empire, and is declared emperor by his troops, i. 335.
- Æneas* of Gaza, his attestation of the miraculous gift of speech to the Catholic confessors of Tipasa, whose tongues had been cut out, vi. 234.
- Æneas Sylvius*, his account of the impracticability of an European crusade against the Turks, xii. 62. His epigram on the destruction of ancient buildings in Rome, 192.
- Æra* of the world, remarkable epochas in, pointed out vii. 128.
- Gelalæan, of the Turks, when settled, x. 225.
- Aerial* tribute, in the Eastern empire, what, vii. 87.
- Ælius*, surnamed the Atheist, his character and adventures, iii. 266. 278. 297.
- , The Roman general under Valentinian III. his character, vi. 7. His treacherous scheme to ruin count Boniface, 9. Is forced to retire into Pannonia, 21. His invitation of the Huns into the empire, 31. Seizes the administration of the Western empire, 73. His character as given by Renatus a cotemporary historian, 74. Employs the Huns and Alani in the defence of Gaul, 76. Concludes a peace with Theodoric, 80. Raises the siege of Orleans, 88. Battle of Chalons, 94. His prudence on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 105. Is murdered by Valentinian, 112.
- Africa*, its situation and revolutions, i. 33. Great revenue raised from, by the Romans, 212. Progress of Christianity there, ii. 302. Is distracted with religious discord

I N D E X.

- in the time of Constantine the Great, iii. 243. Character and revolt of the Circumcellions, 316. Oppressions of, under the government of count Romanus, iv. 241. General state of Africa, 248. Revolt of count Boniface there, vi. 9. Arrival of Genseric king of the Vandals, 12. Persecution of the Donatists, 13. Devastation of, by the Vandals, 16. Carthage surprised by Genseric, 22. Persecution of the Catholics, 223. Expedition of Belisarius to, vii. 140. Is recovered by the Romans, 158. The government of, settled by Justinian, 159. Revolt of the troops there, under Stoza, 302. Devastation of the war, 308. Invasion of, by the Saracens, ix. 280. Conquest of, by Akbah, 287. Decline and extinction of Christianity there, 317. Revolt and independence of the Saracens there, ix. 388.
- Aglabites*, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 388.
- Aglæ*, a Roman lady, patronises St. Boniface, ii. 395.
- Agricola*, review of his conduct in Britain, i. 5.
- Agriculture*, great improvement of, in the western countries of the Roman empire, i. 68. State of, in the Eastern empire, under Justinian, vii. 73.
- Ajax*, the sepulchre of, how distinguished, iii. 9.
- Aznadin*, battle of, between the Saracens and the Greeks, ix. 229.
- Akbah*, the Saracen, his exploits in Africa, ix. 287.
- Alani*, occasion of these people invading Asia, ii. 57. Conquest of, by the Huns, iv. 300. Join the Goths who had emigrated into Thrace, 325. See *Goths*, and *Vandals*.
- Alaric*, the Goth, learns the art of war under Theodosius the Great, v. 69. Becomes the leader of the Gothic revolt, and ravages Greece, 148. Escapes from Stilicho, 154. Is appointed master general of the Eastern Illyricum, 155. His invasion of Italy, 158. Is defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 164. Is driven out of Italy, 168. Is, by treaty with Honorius, declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum,

I N D E X

194. His pleas and motives for marching to Rome, 210. Encamps under the walls of that city, 212. Accepts a ransom, and raises the siege, 240. His negotiations with the emperor Honorius, 243. His second siege of Rome, 249. Places Attalus on the Imperial throne, 250. Degrades him, 253. Seizes the city of Rome 255. His sack of Rome compared with that by the emperor Charles V. 264. Retires from Rome, and ravages Italy, 266. His death and burial, 269.
- Alaric* II. king of the Goths, his overthrow by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 263.
- Alberic*, the son of Marozia, his revolt, and government of Rome, ix. 72.
- Albigensis* of France, persecution of, x. 79.
- Alboin*, king of the Lombards, his history, viii. 93. His alliance with the Avars against the Gepidæ, 95. Reduces the Gepidæ, 96. He undertakes the conquest of Italy, 97. Overruns what is now called Lombardy, 101. Assumes the regal title there, 102. Takes Pavia, and makes it his capital city, 103. Is murdered at the instigation of his queen Rosamond, *ibid.*
- Alchemy*, the books of, in Egypt, destroyed by Diocletian, ii. 113.
- Aleppo*, siege and capture of, by the Saracens, ix. 253. Is recovered by the Greeks, 397. Is taken and sacked by Tamerlane, xi. 267.
- Alexander* III. pope, establishes the papal election in the college of cardinals, xii. 102.
- Alexander* archbishop of Alexandria, excommunicates Arius for his heresy, ii. 258.
- Alexander Severus*, is declared Cæsar by the emperor Elagabalus, i. 196. Is raised to the throne, 198. Examination into his pretended victory over Artaxerxes, 278. Shewed a regard for the Christian religion, ii. 369.
- Alexandria*, a general massacre there, by order of the emperor Caracalla, i. 180. The city described, 372. Is ruined by ridiculous intestine commotions, 373. By famine and pestilence, 347. Is besieged and taken by

I N D E X.

- Diocletian, 374. The Christian theology reduced to a systematical form in the school of, ii. 299. Number of martyrs who suffered there in the persecution by Decius, 351. The theological system of Plato taught in the school of, and received by the Jews there, iii. 249. Questions concerning the nature of the trinity, agitated in the philosophical and Christian schools of, 252. 257. History of the archbishop St. Athanasius, 280. Outrages attending his expulsion and the establishment of his successor, George of Cappadocia, 300. The city distracted by pious factions, 307. Disgraceful life and tragical death of George of Cappadocia, iv. 99. Restoration of Athanasius; 103. Athanasius banished by Julian, 105. Suffers greatly by an earthquake, 274. History of the temple of Serapis there, v. 91. This temple, and the famous library, destroyed by bishop Theophilus, 93. Is taken by Amrou the Saracen, ix. 270. The famous library destroyed, 273.
- Alexius Angelus*, his usurpation of the Greek empire, and character, xi. 15. Flies before the crusaders, 37.
- Alexius I. Comnenus*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 394. New titles of dignity invented by him, x. 23. Battle of Durazzo, 166. Solicits the aid of the emperor Henry III. 170. Solicits the aid of the Christian princes against the Turks, 245. His suspicious policy on the arrival of the crusaders, 276. Exacts homage from them, 278. Profits by the success of the crusaders, 322.
- Alexius II. Comnenus*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 404.
- Alexius Strategopulus*, the Greek general, retakes Constantinople from the Latins, xi. 100.
- Alexius*, the son of Isaac Angelus, his escape from his uncle, who had deposed his father, xi. 16. His treaty with the crusaders for his restoration; 28. Restoration of his father, 42. His death, 49.
- Alfred* sends an embassy to the shrine of St. Thomas in India, viii. 285.
- Algebra*, by whom invented, ix. 360.
- Ali*, joins Mahomet in his prophetic mission, ix. 139.

I N D E X.

- His heroism, 155. 157. His character, 179. Is chosen caliph of the Saracens, 182. Devotion paid at his tomb, 189. His posterity, 190.
- Aligern*, defends Cumæ, for his brother Teias, king of the Goths, vii. 341. Is reduced, 343.
- Allectus* murders Carasius, and usurps his station, ii. 105.
- Allemanni*, the origin and warlike spirit of, i. 342. Are driven out of Italy by the senate and people, 343. Invade the empire under Aurelian, ii. 19. Are totally routed, 22. Gaul delivered from their depredations by Constantius Chlorus, 108. Invade and establish themselves in Gaul, iii. 169. Are defeated at Strasburgh by Julian, 176. Are reduced by Julian in his expeditions beyond the Rhine, 181. Invade Gaul under the emperor Valentinian, iv. 222. Are reduced by Jovinus, 224. And chastised by Valentinian, 227. Are subdued by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 251.
- Alp Arslan*; sultan of the Turks, his reign, x. 212.
- Alypius*, governor of Britain, is commissioned by the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, iv. 84.
- Amala*, king of the Goths, his high credit among them, i. 324.
- Amalasontha*, queen of Italy, her history and character, vii. 175. Her death, 179.
- Amalphi*, description of the city, and its commerce, x. 154.
- Amazons*, improbability of any society of, ii. 39.
- Ambition*, reflections on the violence, and various operations of that passion, viii. 421.
- Ambrose*, St. composed a treatise on the trinity, for the use of the emperor Gratian, v. 3. His birth, and promotion to the archbishopric of Milan, 31. Opposes the Arian worship of the empress Justina, 33. Refuses obedience to the Imperial power, 38. Controls the emperor Theodosius, 59. Imposes penance on Theodosius for his cruel treatment of Thessalonica, 61. Employed his influence over Gratian and Theodosius, to inspire them with maxims of persecution, 78. Opposes Symmachus, the advocate for the old Pagan religion, 84. Comforts

I N D E X.

- the citizens of Florence with a dream, when besieged by Radagaisus, 180.
- Amida*, siege of, by Sapor king of Persia, iii. 162. Receives the fugitive inhabitants of Nisibis, iv. 177. Is besieged and taken by Cabades king of Persia, vii. 114.
- Amir*, prince of Ionia, his character, and passage into Europe, xi. 231.
- Ammianus* the historian, his religious character of the emperor Constantius, iii. 277. His remark on the animity of Christians toward each other, 320. His account of the fiery obstructions to restoring the temple of Jerusalem, iv. 88. His account of the hostile contest of Damasus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome, 219. Testimony in favour of his historical merit, 348. His character of the nobles of Rome, v. 220.
- Ammonius*, the mathematician, his measurement of the circuit of Rome, v. 235.
- Ammonius*, the monk of Alexandria, his martyrdom, viii. 233.
- Amorium*, siege and destruction of, by the caliph Motasem. ix. 378.
- Amphilochus*, bishop of Iconium, gains the favour of the emperor Theodosius by an orthodox *bon mot*, v. 13.
- Amphitheatre* at Rome, a description of, ii. 87. xii. 196.
- Anrou*, his birth and character, ix. 262. His invasion and conquest of Egypt, 264. His administration there, 277. His description of the country, 278.
- Amurath I.* sultan of the Turks, his reign, xi. 236.
- Amurath II.* sultan, his reign and character xi. 375.
- Anachorets*, in monkish history, described, vi. 210.
- Anacletus*, pope, his Jewish extraction, xii. 114.
- Anastasius I.* marries the empress Ariadne, vii. 6. His war with Theodoric, the Ostrogoth king of Italy, 19. His œconomy celebrated, 81. His long wall from the Propontis to the Euxine, 107. Is humbled by the Catholic clergy, viii. 261.
- Anastasius II.* emperor of Constantinople, viii. 333. His preparations of defence against the Saracens, ix. 329.

I N D E X.

- Anastafius*, St. his brief history and martyrdom, viii. 186.
- Anatbo*, the city of, on the banks of the Euphrates, described, iv. 130.
- Andalusia*, derivation of the name of that province, ix. 296.
- Andronicus*, president of Lybia, excommunicated by Synesius bishop of Ptolemais, iii. 235.
- Andronicus Comnenus*, his character, and first adventures, viii. 405. Seizes the empire of Constantinople, 416. His unhappy fate, 419.
- Andronicus* the Elder, emperor of Constantinople, his superstition, xi. 163. His war with his grandson and abdication, 169.
- Andronicus* the Younger, emperor of Constantinople, his licentious character, xi. 167. His civil war against his grandfather, 169. His reign, 173. Is vanquished and wounded by sultan Orchan, 229. His private application to pope Benedict XII. of Rome, 306.
- Angora*, battle of, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, xi. 271.
- Anianus*, bishop of Orleans, his pious anxiety for the relief of that city when besieged by Attila the Hun, vi. 88.
- Anician* family at Rome, brief history of, v. 215.
- Anne Comnena*, character of her history of her father, Alexius I. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 394. Her conspiracy against her brother John, 397.
- Anthemius*, emperor of the West, his descent, and investiture by Leo the Great, vi. 157. His election confirmed at Rome, 158. Is killed in the sack of Rome by Ricimer, 177.
- Anthemius*, prefect of the East, character of his administration, in the minority of the emperor Theodosius the younger, v. 337.
- Anthemius* the architect, instances of his great knowledge in mechanics, vii. 94. Forms the design of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 97.
- Anthony*, St. father of the Egyptian monks, his history, vi. 195.

I N D E X.

- Anthropomorphites*, among the early Christians, personifiers of the Deity, viii. 223.
- Antioch*, taken and destroyed by Sapor king of Persia, i. 360. Flourishing state of the Christian church there, in the reign of Theodosius, ii. 298. History of the body of St. Babylas, bishop of, iv. 96. The cathedral of, shut up, and its wealth confiscated, by the emperor Julian, 98. Licentious manners of the citizens, 113. Popular discontents during the residence of Julian there, 115. Sedition there, against the emperor Theodosius, v. 51. The city pardoned, 55. Is taken, and ruined, by Chosroes king of Persia, vii. 270. Great destruction there by an earthquake, 364. Is again seized by Chosroes II. viii. 183. Is reduced by the Saracens and ransomed, ix. 255. Is recovered by the Greeks, 396. besieged and taken by the first crusaders, x. 292.
- Antonina*, the wife of Belisarius, her character, vii. 137. Examines and convicts pope Sylverius of treachery, 204. Her activity during the siege of Rome, 207. Her secret history, 224. Founds a convent for her retreat, 357.
- Antoninus*, a Roman refugee at the court of Sapor king of Persia, stimulates him to an invasion of the Roman provinces, iii. 160.
- Antoninus Pius*, his character, and that of Hadrian compared, i. 10. Is adopted by Hadrian, 100.
- Antoninus Marcus*, his defensive wars, i. 11. Is adopted by Pius at the instance of Hadrian, 101. His character, 103. His war against the united Germans, 313. Suspicious story of his edict in favour of the Christians, ii. 365.
- Aper*, *Arius*, prætorian præfect, and father-in-law to the emperor Numerian, is killed by Diocletian as the presumptive murderer of that prince, ii. 91.
- Apharban*, the Persian, his embassy from Narses king of Persia, to the emperor Galerius, ii. 123.
- Apocalypse*, why now admitted into the canon of the Scriptures, ii. 250.
- Apocaucus*, admiral of Constantinople, his confederacy against John Cantacuzene, xi. 176. His death, 181.

I N D E X.

Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, his hypothesis of the divine incarnation of Jesus Christ, viii. 225.

Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria, butchers his flock in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the incarnation viii. 279.

Apollonius of Tyana, his doubtful character, ii. 411.

Apotheosis of the Roman emperors, how this custom was introduced, i. 91.

Appian dethrones Leontius emperor of Constantinople, and usurps his place, viii. 327.

Apulia, is conquered by the Normans, x. 140. Is confirmed to them by papal grant, 146.

Aquileia, besieged by the emperor Maximin, i. 245. Is taken and destroyed by Attila king of the Huns, vi. 100.

Aquitain, is settled by the Goths, under their king Wallia, v. 293. Is conquered by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 267.

Arabia, its situation, soil, and climate, ix. 89. Its division into the *Sandy*, the *Stony*, and the *Happy*, 91. The pastoral Arabs, *ib.* Their horses and camels, 92. Cities of, 94. Manners and customs of the Arabs, 96. Their language, 104. Their benevolence, 106. History and description of the Caaba of Mecca, 109. Religions, 112. Life and doctrine of Mahomet, 115. Conquest of, by Mahomet, 161. Character of the caliphs, 205. Rapid conquests of, 208. Limits of their conquests, 323. Three caliphs established, 350. Introduction of learning among the Arabians, 355. Their progress in the sciences, 358. Their literary deficiencies, 362. Decline and fall of the caliphs, 387.

Arbeto, a veteran under Constantine the Great, leaves his retirement to oppose the usurper Procopius. iv. 200.

Arbogastes, the Frank, his military promotion under Theodosius in Gaul, and conspiracy against Valentinian the younger, v. 66. Is defeated and killed by Theodosius, 72.

Arcadius, son of the emperor Theodosius, succeeds to the empire of the East, v. 114. His magnificence, 305. Extent of his dominions, 306. Administration of his

I N D E X

- favourite eunuch Eutropius, *ib.* His cruel law against treason, 313. Signs the condemnation of Eutropius, 318. His interview with the revolters Tribigild and Gainas, 321. His death, and supposed testament, 336.
- Architecture*, Roman, the general magnificence of, indicated by the existing ruins, i. 57.
- Ardaburius*, his expedition to Italy, to reduce the usurper John, vi. 4.
- Argonauts*, the object of their expedition to Colchos, vii. 279.
- Ariadne*, daughter of the emperor Leo, and wife of Zeno, her character, and marriage afterward with Anastasius, vii. 5.
- Arians*, persecute the Catholics in Africa, vi. 223.
- Arii*, a tribe of the Lygians, their terrific mode of waging war, ii. 65.
- Arintheus*, is appointed general of the horse by the emperor Julian on his Persian expedition, iv. 128. Distinguishes himself against the usurper Procopius, 200.
- Ariovistus* seizes two-thirds of the lands of the Sequani in Gaul, for himself and his German followers, vi. 277.
- Aristobulus*, principal minister of the house of Carus, is received into confidence by the emperor Diocletian, ii. 95.
- Aristotle*, his logic better adapted to the detection of error, than for the discovery of truth, ix. 359.
- Arius*, is excommunicated for heretical notions concerning the Trinity, iii. 258. Strength of his party, *ib.* His opinions examined in the council of Nice, 261. Account of Arian sects, 266. Council of Rimini, 270. His banishment and recal, 273. His suspicious death, 274.
- Armenia*, is seized by Sapor king of Persia, i. 357. Tiridates restored, ii. 115. He is again expelled by the Persians, 118. Is resigned to Tiridates by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 127. Is rendered tributary to Persia, on the death of Tiridates, iii. 105. Character of Arsaces Tiranus king of, and his conduct toward the emperor Julian, iv. 124. Is reduced by

I N D E X.

- Sapor to a Persian province, 251. Its distractions and division between the Persians and the Romans, v. 349. History of Christianity there, viii. 294.
- Armies* of the Eastern empire, state of, under the emperor Maurice, viii. 168.
- Armorica*, the provinces of, form a free government independent on the Romans, v. 297. Submits to Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 256. Settlement of Britons in, 308.
- Armour*, defensive, is laid aside by the Romans, and adopted by the Barbarians, v. 76.
- Arnold* of Brescia, his heresy, and history, xii. 78.
- Arragon*, derivation of the name of that province, i. 25.
- Arrian*, his visit to, and description of, Colchos, vii. 283.
- Artaces Tiranus*, king of Armenia, his character, and disaffection to the emperor Julian, iv. 125. Withdraws his troops treacherously from the Roman service, 148. His disastrous end, 250.
- Arsenius*, patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates the emperor Michael Palæologus, xi. 137. Faction of the Arsenites, 138.
- Artaban*, king of Parthia, is defeated and slain by Artaxerxes king of Persia, i. 262.
- Artaban*, his conspiracy against the emperor Justinian, vii. 328. Is intrusted with the conduct of the armament sent to Italy, 331.
- Artasires*, king of Armenia, is deposed by the Persians at the instigation of his own subjects, v. 351.
- Artavasdes*, his revolt against the Greek emperor Constantine V. at Constantinople, ix. 15.
- Artaxerxes*, restores the Persian monarchy, i. 263. Prohibits every worship but that of Zoroaster, 270. His war with the Romans, 277. His character and maxims, 280.
- Artemius*, duke of Egypt under Constantius, is condemned to death under Julian, for cruelty and corruption, iv. 40.

I N D E X.

- Arthur*, king of the Britons, his history obscured by monkish fictions, vi. 308.
- Arvandus*, prætorian præfect of Gaul, his trial and condemnation by the Roman senate, vi. 169.
- Ascalon*, battle of, between Godfrey king of Jerusalem, and the sultan of Egypt, x. 312.
- Ascetics*, in ecclesiastical history, account of, vi. 194.
- Asclepiodatus* reduces and kills the British usurper Allectus, ii. 106.
- Asia*, summary view of the revolutions in that quarter of the world, i. 261.
- Asia Minor* described, i. 31. Amount of its tribute to Rome, 212. Is conquered by the Turks, x. 227.
- Asiarch*, the nature of this office among the ancient Pagans, ii. 452.
- Aspar* is commissioned by Theodosius the younger to conduct Valentinian III, to Italy, vi. 4. Places his steward Leo on the throne of the Eastern empire, 156. He and his sons murdered by Leo, vii. 4.
- Assassins*, the principality of, destroyed by the Moguls, xi. 212.
- Assemblies* of the people abolished under the Roman emperors, i. 88. The nature of, among the ancient Germans, 298.
- Assyria*, the province of, described, iv. 131. Is invaded by the emperor Julian, 133. His retreat, 155.
- Astarte*, her image brought from Carthage to Rome, as a spouse for Elagabalus, i. 193.
- Astolphus*, king of the Lombards, takes the city of Ravenna, and attacks Rome, ix. 29. Is repelled by Pepin king of France, 30.
- Astrology*, why cultivated by the Arabian astronomers, ix. 360.
- Athalaric*, the son of Amalasontha queen of Italy, his education and character, vii. 177.
- Athalaric* the Gothic chief, his war against the emperor Valens, iv. 262. His alliance with Theodosius, 353. his death and funeral, 354.

I N D E X.

Arbanasius, St. confesses his understanding bewildered by meditating on the divinity of the Logos, iii. 253. General view of his opinions, 263. Is banished, 274. His character and adventures, 280. iv. 103. 183. 213. Was not the author of the famous creed under his name, vi. 232.

Arbanasius, patriarch of Constantinople, his contests with the Greek emperor Andronicus the Elder, xi. 164.

Arbenais, daughter of the philosopher Leontius. See *Eudocia*.

Athens, the libraries in that city, why said to have been spared by the Goths, i. 357. Naval strength of the republic of, during its prosperity, ii. 212.

Athens is laid under contribution by Alaric the Goth, v. 150. Review of the philosophical history of, vii. 118. The schools of, silenced by the emperor Justinian, 123. Revolutions of, after the crusades, and its present state, xi. 162.

Athos, mount, beatific visions of the monks of, xi. 188.

Atlantic Ocean, derivation of its name, i. 34.

Attacotti, a Caledonian tribe of cannibals, account of, iv. 238.

Atralus, præfect of Rome, is chosen emperor by the senate, under the influence of Alaric, v. 250. Is publicly degraded, 254. His future fortune, 284.

Attalus, a noble youth of Auvergne, his adventures, vi. 288.

Atrila, the Hun, vi. 32. Description of his person and character, 33. His conquests, 36. His treatment of his captives, 44. Imposes terms of peace on Theodosius the younger, 49. Oppresses Theodosius by his ambassadors, 53. Description of his royal residence, 59. His reception of the ambassadors of Theodosius, 62. His behaviour on discovering the scheme of Theodosius to get him assassinated, 68. His haughty messages to the emperors of the East and West, 73. His invasion of Gaul, 86. His oration to his troops on the approach of Ætius and Theodoric, 93. Battle of Chalons, 94.

I N D E X.

- His invasion of Italy, 100. His retreat purchased by Valentinian, 107. His death, 108.
- Atys* and *Cybele*, the fable of, allegorized by the pen of Julian, iv. 57.
- Avars*, are discomfited by the Turks, vii. 251. Their embassy to the emperor Justinian, 252. Their conquests in Poland and Germany, 253. Their embassy to Justin II. viii. 19. They join the Lombards against the Gepidæ, 95. Pride, policy, and power, of their chagan Baian, 160. Their conquests, 165. Invest Constantinople, 202.
- Averroes*, his religious infidelity, how far justifiable, ix. 363.
- Aversa*, a town near Naples, built as a settlement for the Normans, x. 137.
- Augurs*, Roman, their number and peculiar office, v. 79.
- Augustin*, his account of the miracles wrought by the body of St. Stephen, v. 108. Celebrates the piety of the Goths in the sacking of Rome, 257. Approves the persecution of the Donatists of Africa, vi. 14. His death, character, and writings, 18. History of his relics, vii. 157.
- Augustulus*, son of the patrician Orestes, is chosen emperor of the West, vi. 181. Is deposed by Odoacer, 182. His banishment to the Lucullan villa in Campania, 186.
- Augustus*, emperor, his moderate exercise of power, i. 2. Is imitated by his successors, 3. His naval regulations, 23. His division of Gaul, 25. His situation after the battle of Actium, 78. He reforms the senate, 79. Procures a senatorial grant of the Imperial dignity, 81. Division of the provinces between him and the senate, 84. Is allowed his military command and guards in the city of Rome, 85. Obtains the consular and tribunitian offices for life, 86. His character and policy, 93. Adopts Tiberius, 97. Formed an accurate register of the revenues and expences of the empire, 211. Taxes

I N D E X.

- instituted by him, 214. His naval establishment at Ravenna, v. 172.
- Augustus* and *Cæsar*, those titles explained and discriminated, i. 92.
- Avienus*, his character and embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila king of the Huns, vi. 106.
- Avignon*, the holy see how transferred from Rome to that city, xii. 107. Return of pope Urban V. to Rome, 154.
- Avitus*, his embassy from Ætius to Theodoric king of the Visigoths, vi. 90. Assumes the empire, 128. His deposition and death, 134.
- Aurelian*, emperor, his birth and services, ii. 14. His expedition against Palmyra, 32. His triumph, 39. His cruelty, and death, 45.
- Aurengzebe*, account of his immense camp, i. 274.
- Aureolus* is invested with the purple on the Upper Danube, ii. 2.
- Ausonius*, the tutor of the emperor Gratian, his promotions, v. 3.
- Autharis*, king of the Lombards in Italy, his wars with the Franks, viii. 117. His adventurous gallantry, 125.
- Autun*, the city of, stormed and plundered by the legions in Gaul, ii. 27.
- Auvergne*, province and city of, in Gaul, revolutions of, vi. 285.
- Auxiliaries*, Barbarian, fatal consequences of their admission into the Roman armies, iii. 49.
- Axuch*, a Turkish slave, his generous friendship to the princess Anne Comnena, viii. 398. And to Manuel Comnenus, 400.
- Azimuntium*, the citizens of, defend their privileges against Peter, brother of the Eastern emperor Maurice, viii. 167.
- Azimus*, remarkable spirit shewn by the citizens of, against Attila and his Huns, vi. 51.

I N D E X.

B.

- Baalbec*, description of the ruins of, ix. 244.
- Babylas*, St. bishop of Antioch, his posthumous history, iv. 96.
- Bagauda*, in Gaul; revolt of, its occasion, and suppression by Maximian, ii. 100.
- Bagdad* becomes the royal residence of the Abbassides; ix. 351. Derivation of the name, ib. The fallen state of the caliphs of, 391. The city of, stormed and sacked by the Moguls xi. 213.
- Babram*, the Persian general, his character and exploits, viii. 149. Is provoked to rebellion, 151. Dethrones Chosroes, 155. His usurpation and death, 158.
- Baian*, chagan of the Avars, his pride, policy, and power, viii. 160. His perfidious seizure of Sirmium and Singidunum, 164. His conquests, 165. His treacherous attempt to seize the emperor Heraclius, 191. Invests Constantinople in conjunction with the Persians 202. Retires, 204.
- Bajazet*, I. sultan of the Turks, his reign, xi. 239. His correspondence with Tamerlane, 265. Is defeated and captured by Tamerlane, 273. Inquiry into the story of the iron cage, 276. His sons, 289.
- Balbinus*, elected joint emperor with Maximus, by the senate, on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 239.
- Baldwin*, count of Flanders, engages in the fourth crusade, xi. 19. Is chosen emperor of Constantinople, 66. Is taken prisoner by Calo-John, king of the Bulgarians, 78. His death, 80.
- Baldwin* II. emperor of Constantinople xi. 90. His distresses and expedients, 92. His expulsion from that city, 102.
- Baldwin*, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, accompanies him on the first crusade, x. 264. Founds the principality of Edessa, 291.

I N D E X.

- Baltic Sea*, progressive subsidence of the water, of i. 285.
How the Romans acquired a knowledge of the naval powers of, iv. 231.
- Baptisin*, theory and practice of among the primitive Christians, iii. 216.
- Barbary*, the name of that country, whence derived, ix. 293. The Moors of, converted to the Mahometan faith, 295.
- Barbatio*, general of infantry in Gaul under Julian, his misconduct, iii. 175.
- Barchochebas*, his rebellion against the emperor Hadrian, ii. 318.
- Bards*, Celtic, their power of exciting a martial enthusiasm in the people, i. 307.
- Bards*, British, their peculiar office and duties, vi. 315.
- Bardar*, Cæsar, one of the restorers of learning, x. 53.
- Bari* is taken from the Saracens by the joint efforts of the Latin and Greek empires, x. 129.
- Barlaam*, a Calabrian monk, his dispute with the Greek theologians about the light of mount Thabor, xi. 189. His embassy to Rome, from Andronicus the younger, 306. His literary character, 351.
- Basil I.* the Macedonian, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 358. Reduces the Paulicians, x. 73.
- Basil*, II. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 377. His great wealth, x. 17. His inhuman treatment of the Bulgarians, 73.
- Basil*, archbishop of Cæsarea, no evidence of his having been persecuted by the emperor Valens, iv. 215. Insults his friend Gregory Nazianzen, under the appearance of promotion, v. 16. The father of the monks of Pontus, vi. 197.
- Basiliscus*, brother of the empress Verina, is entrusted with the command of the armament sent against the Vandals in Africa, vi. 164. His fleet destroyed by Genferic, 166. His promotion to the empire, and death, vii. 5.

I N D E X.

- Bassianus*, high priest of the sun, his parentage, i. 188. Is proclaimed emperor at Emesa, *ibid.* See *Elagabalus*.
- Bassianus*, brother-in-law to Constantine, revolts against him, ii. 201.
- Bassora*, its foundation and situation, ix. 213.
- Baths*, public, of Rome described, v. 232.
- Batna*, reception of the emperor Julian there, iv. 122.
- Beasts*, wild, the variety of, introduced in the circus, for the public games at Rome, ii. 85.
- Beausobre*, M. de, character of his *Histoire Critique du Manichéisme* viii. 217.
- Beder*, battle of, between Mahomet and the Koreish of Mecca, ix. 152.
- Bedouens*, of Arabia, their mode of life, ix. 91.
- Bee*, remarks on the structure of their combs and cells, ix. 356.
- Belisarius*, his birth and military promotion, vii. 134. Is appointed by Justinian to conduct the African war, 138. Embarkation of his troops, 140. Lands in Africa, 144. Defeats Gelimer, 147. Is received into Carthage, 149. Second defeat of Gelimer, 155. Reduction of Africa, 158. Surrender of Gelimer, 163. His triumphant return to Constantinople, 165. Is declared sole consul, 166. He menaces the Ostrogoths of Italy, 173. He seizes Sicily, 180. Invades Italy, 185. Takes Naples, 187. He enters Rome, 191. He is besieged in Rome by the Goths, 192. The siege raised, 209. Causes Constantine, one of his generals, to be killed, 212. Siege of Ravenna, 217. Takes Ravenna by stratagem, 221. Returns to Constantinople, 222. His character and behaviour, 223. Scandalous life of his wife Antonina, 224. His disgrace and submission, 231. Is sent into the East to oppose Chosroes king of Persia, 273. His politic reception of the Persian ambassadors, 275. His second campaign in Italy, 314. His ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Rome, 319. Dissuades Totila from destroying Rome, 323. Recovers the city

I N D E X.

324. His final recal from Italy, 326. Rescues Constantinople from the Bulgarians, 353. His disgrace and death, 355.
- Benefice*, in feudal language, explained, vi. 282.
- Benevento*, battle of, between Charles of Anjou, and Mainfroy the Sicilian usurper, xi. 147.
- Beneventum*, anecdotes, relating to the siege of, x. 133.
- Benjamin* of Tudela, his account of the riches of Constantinople, x. 16.
- Berea*, or Aleppo, reception of the emperor Julian there, iv. 121.
- Bernard*, St. his character and influence in promoting the second crusade, x. 335. His character of the Romans, xii. 76.
- Bernier*, his account of the camp of Aurengzebe, i. 274.
- Berytus*, account of the law school established there, iii. 38. Is destroyed by an earthquake, vii. 364.
- Bessarion*, cardinal, his character, xi. 358.
- Bessas*, governor of Rome for Justinian, his rapacity during the siege of that city by Totila the Goth, vii. 317. Occasions the loss of Rome, 320.
- Bezabde*, is taken and garrisoned by Sapor king of Persia, iii. 165. Is ineffectually besieged by Constantius, 168.
- Bindoes*, a Sassanian Prince, deposes Hormouz king of Persia, viii. 152.
- Birthright* the least invidious of all human distinctions, i. 223.
- Bishops*, among the primitive Christians, the office of, explained, ii. 273. Progress of episcopal authority, 276. Assumed dignity of episcopal government, 289. Number of, at the time of Constantine the Great, iii. 224. Mode of their election, 225. Their power of ordination, 227. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese how divided, *ib.* Their civil jurisdiction, 232. Their spiritual censures, 234. Their legislative assemblies, 238.
- Bishops*, rural, their rank and duties, iii. 224.

I N D E X:

- Biffextile*, superstitious regard to this year by the Romans, iv. 190.
- Bithynia*, the cities of, plundered by the Goths, i. 350.
- Blemmyes*, their revolt against the emperor Diocletian, ii. 110.
- Boccace*, his literary character, xi. 353.
- Boethius*, the learned senator of Rome, his history, vii. 35. His imprisonment and death, 39.
- Bobemond*, the son of Robert Guiscard, his character and military exploits, x. 169. 267. His route to Constantinople on the crusade, 275. His flattering reception by the emperor Alexius Comnenus, 279. Takes Antioch, and obtains the principality of it, 295. His subsequent transactions, and death, 323.
- Boniface*, St. his history, ii. 395.
- Boniface*, count, the Roman general under Valentinian III. his character, vi. 7. Is betrayed into a revolt by Ætius, 9. His repentance, 15. Is besieged in Hippo Regius by Genferic king of the Vandals, 18. Returns to Italy, and is killed by Ætius, 19.
- Boniface VIII.* pope, his violent contest with Philip the Fair king of France, and his character, xii. 106. Institutes the jubilee, 109.
- Boniface*, marquis of Montferrat, is chosen general of the fourth crusade to the Holy Land, xi. 26. Is made king of Macedonia, 69. Is killed by the Bulgarians, 82.
- Bosphorus*, revolutions of that kingdom, i. 346. Is seized by the Goths, 347. The strait of, described, iii. 4.
- Bosra*, siege of, by the Saracens, ix. 225.
- Botheric*, the Imperial general in Thessalonica, murdered in a sedition, v. 56.
- Boucicault*, marshal, defends Constantinople against Bajazet, xi. 249.
- Boulogne*, the port of, recovered from Carausius, by Constantius Chlorus, iii. 105.
- Bowides*, the Persian dynasty of, ix. 391.
- Brancaleone*, senator of Rome, his character, xii. 90.

I N D E X.

Bretagne, the province of, in France, settled by Britons, vi. 308.

Britain, reflexions on the conquest of, by the Romans, i. 4. Description of, 26. Colonies planted in, 47. A colony of Vandals settled there by Probus, ii. 70. Revolt of Carausius, 102. How first peopled, iv. 234. Invasions of, by the Scots and Picts, 237. Is restored to peace by Theodosius, 239. Revolt of Maximus there, v. 6. Revolt of the troops there against Honorius, 188. Is abandoned by the Romans, 297. State of, until the arrival of the Saxons, 298. Descent of the Saxons on, vi. 300. Establishment of the Saxon heptarchy, 302. Wars in, 306. Saxon devastation of the country, 310. Manners of the independent Britons, 315. Description of, by Procopius, 317. Conversion of the Britons by a mission from pope Gregory the Great, viii. 136. The doctrine of the incarnation received there, 276.

Brutus, the Trojan, his colonization of Britain now given up by intelligent historians, iv. 233.

Buſſon, M. his extraordinary burning mirrors, vii. 94.

Bulgarians, their character, vii. 241. Their inroads on the Eastern empire 244. Invasion of, under Zabergan, 351. Repulsed by Belisarius, 353. The kingdom of, destroyed by Basil II. the Greek emperor, viii. 379. Revolt of, from the Greek empire, and submission to the pope of Rome, xi. 13. War with the Greeks under Calo-John, 76.

Bull-ſeaſt, in the Coliseum at Rome, described, xii. 197.

Burgundians, their settlement on the Elbe, and maxims of government, iv. 227. Their settlement in Gaul, v. 294. Limits of the kingdom of, under Gundobald, vi. 257. Are subdued by the Franks, 261.

Burnet, character of his Sacred Theory of the Earth, ii. 251.

Burrampooter, source of that river, xi. 262.

Busir, in Egypt, four several places known under this name, ix. 348.

I N D E X

Buzurg, the philosophical preceptor of Hormouz king of Persia, his high reputation, viii. 146.

Byzantine historians, list and character of, xii. 64.

Byzantium, siege of, by the emperor Severus, i. 159.
Is taken by Maximin, ii. 196. Siege of, by Constantine the Great, 214. Its situation described, iii. 3.
By whom founded, 4. See *Constantinople*.

C

Caaba, or temple of Mecca, described, ix. 109. The idols in, destroyed by Mahomet, 161.

Cabades, king of Persia, besieges and takes Amida, vii. 114. Seizes the straits of Caucasus, 117. Vicissitudes of his reign, 258.

Cadesia, battle of, between the Saracens and the Persians, ix. 210.

Cadijab, her marriage with Mahomet, ix. 117. Is converted by him to his new religion, 138. Her death, 142. Mahomet's veneration for her memory, 177.

Cecilian, the peace of the church in Africa disturbed by him and his party, iii. 243.

Cecilius, the authority of his account of the famous vision of Constantine the Great, inquired into, iii. 207. 373.

Celestian, senator of Carthage, his distress on the taking of that city by Genferic, vi. 24.

Cesar, Julius, his inducement to the conquest of Britain, i. 4. Degrades the senatorial dignity, 79. Assumes a place among the tutelary deities of Rome, in his lifetime, 91. His address in appeasing a military sedition, 208. His prudent application of the coronary gold presented to him, iii. 71.

Cesar and *Augustus*, those titles explained and discriminated, i. 92.

Cesars, of the emperor Julian, the philosophical fable of that work delineated, iv. 110.

Cæsarea, capital of Cappadocia, taken by Sapor king of Persia, i. 361. Is reduced by the Saracens, ix. 257.

I N D E X.

Cahina, queen of the Moors of Africa, her policy to drive the Arabs out of the country, ix. 293.

Cairoan, the city of, founded in the kingdom of Tunis, ix. 289.

Caled, deserts from the idolatrous Arabs to the party of Mahomet, ix. 159. His gallant conduct at the battle of Muta, 166. His victories under the caliph Abubeker, 209. Attends the Saracen army on the Syrian expedition, 224. His valour at the siege of Damascus, 227. Distinguishes himself at the battle of Aiznadin, 231. His cruel treatment of the refugees from Damascus, 240. Joins in plundering the fair of Abyla, 241. Commands the Saracens at the battle of Yermuk, 247. His death, 260.

Caledonia, and its ancient inhabitants, described, iv. 234.

Caledonian war, under the emperor Severus, an account of, i. 170.

Caliphs of the Saracens, character of, ix. 205. Their rapid conquests, 208. Extent and power of, 321. Triple division of the office, 350. They patronise learning, 355. Decline and fall of their empire, 387. xi. 213.

Callinicum, the punishment of a religious sedition in that city, opposed by St. Ambrose, v. 59.

Callinicus of Heliopolis, assists in defending Constantinople against the Saracens, by his chymical inflammable compositions, ix. 334.

Calnucks, black, recent emigration of, from the confines of Russia to those of China, vi. 300.

Calo-John, the Bulgarian chief, his war with Baldwin, the Latin emperor of the Greeks, xi. 76. Defeats, and takes him prisoner, 78. His savage character and death, 83.

Calocerus, a camel-driver, excites an insurrection in the island of Cyprus, iii. 90.

Calpurnius, the machinery of his eclogue on the accession of the emperor Carus, ii. 78.

I N D E X.

- Calvin*, the reformer, his doctrine of the Eucharist, x. 81. Examination of his conduct to Servetus, 82.
- Camel*, of Arabia, described, ix. 93.
- Camisards* of Languedoc, their enthusiasm compared with that of the Circumcellions of Numidia, iii. 318.
- Campania*, the province of, desolated by the ill policy of the Roman emperors, iii. 65. Description of the Lucullan villa in, vi. 187.
- Canada*, the present climate and circumstances of, compared with those of ancient Germany, i. 286.
- Cannon*, enormous one of the sultan Mahomet II. described, xii. 14. Bursts, 26.
- Canoes*, Russian, a description of, x. 112.
- Cantacuzene*, *John*, character of his Greek History, xi. 166. His good fortune under the younger Andronicus, 174. Is driven to assume the purple 178. His lively distinction between foreign and civil war, 180. His entry into Constantinople, and reign, 183. Abdicates, and turns monk, 187. His war with the Genoese factory at Pera, 194. Marries his daughter to a Turk, 233. His negotiation with pope Clement VI. 309.
- Cantemir's* History of the Ottoman Empire, a character of, xi. 228.
- Capelianns*, governor of Mauritania, defeats the younger Gordian, and takes Carthage, i. 239.
- Capitation-tax*, under the Roman emperors, an account of, iii. 65.
- Capito*, *Ateius*, the civilian, his character, viii. 23.
- Capitol* of Rome, burning and restoration of, ii. 340.
- Cappadocia*, famous for its fine breed of horses, iii. 56.
- Capraria*, isle of, character of the monks there, v. 140.
- Captives*, how treated by the Barbarians, vi. 44. 283.
- Caracalla*, son of the emperor Severus, his fixed antipathy to his brother Geta, i. 170. Succeeds to the empire jointly with him, 173. Tendency of his edict to extend the privileges of Roman citizens to all the free inhabitants of his empire, 210. His view in this tran-

I N D E X.

- faction*, 219. Doubles the tax on legacies and inheritances, 220.
Caracorum, the Tartar settlement of, described, xi. 219.
Caravans, Sogdian, their route to and from China, for silk, to supply the Roman empire, vii. 77.
Carausius, his revolt in Britain, ii. 102. Is acknowledged by Diocletian and his colleagues, 104.
Carbeas, the Paulician, his revolt from the Greek emperor to the Saracens, x. 71.
Cardinals, the election of a pope vested in them, xii. 102. Institution of the conclave, 103.
Carduene, situation and history of that territory, ii. 127.
Carinus, the son of Carus, succeeds his father in the empire, jointly with his brother Numerian, ii. 81.
Carizmians, their invasion of Syria, x. 369.
Carlovingian race of kings, commencement, of, in France, ix. 34.
Carmath, the Arabian reformer, his character, ix. 383. His military exploits, 385.
Carmelites, from whom they derive their pedigree, vi. 194.
Carpathian mountains, their situation, i. 284.
Carthage, the bishopric of, bought for Majorinus, ii. 372. Religious discord generated there by the factions of Cæcilian and Donatus, iii. 244. The temple of Venus there, converted into a Christian church, v. 91. Is surprised by Genseric king of the Vandals, vi. 22. The gates of, opened to Belisarius, vii. 149. Natural alterations produced by time in the situation of this city, 151. The walls of, repaired by Belisarius, 153. Insurrection of the Roman troops there, 302. Is reduced and pillaged by Hassan the Saracen, ix. 291. Subsequent history of, 292.
Carthagena, an extraordinary rich silver mine worked there for the Romans, i. 213.
Carus, emperor, his election and character, ii. 76.
Caspian and Iberian gates of mount Caucasus, distinguished, vii. 117.
Cassians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, viii. 24.

I N D E X.

- Cassiodorus*, his Gothic history, i. 319. His account of the infant state of the republic of Venice, vi. 104. His long and prosperous life, vii. 24.
- Castriot*, *George*; see *Scanderbeg*.
- Catalans*, their service and war in the Greek empire, xi. 153.
- Catholic* church, the doctrines of, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, iii. 252. The authority of, extended to the minds of mankind, 256. Faith of the Western or Latin church, 268. Is distracted by factions in the cause of Athanasius, 283. The doxology, how introduced, and how perverted, 304. The revenue of, transferred to the heathen priests, by Julian, iv. 88. Edict of Theodosius for the establishment of the Catholic faith, v. 12. The progressive steps of idolatry in, 103. Persecution of the Catholics in Africa, vi. 223. Pious frauds of the Catholic clergy, 232. How bewildered by the doctrine of the incarnation, viii. 228. Union of the Greek and Latin churches, 276. Schism of the Greek church, xi. 1.
- Celestine*, pope, espouses the party of Cyril against Nestorius, and pronounces the degradation of the latter from his episcopal dignity, viii. 236.
- Celtic* language, driven to the mountains by the Latin, i. 49.
- Censor*, the office of, revived under the emperor Decius, i. 329. But without effect, 330.
- Ceos*, the manufacture of silk, first introduced into Europe from that island, vii. 75.
- Cerca*, the principal queen of Attila king of the Huns, her reception of Maximin the Roman ambassador, vi. 61.
- Cerintbus*, his opinion of the twofold nature of Jesus Christ, viii. 223.
- Ceylon*, ancient names given to that island, and the imperfect knowledge of, by the Romans, iv. 388.
- Chalcedon*, the injudicious situation of this city stigmatized by proverbial contempt, iii. 6. A tribunal erected there by the emperor Julian, to try and punish the evil ministers of his predecessor Constantius, iv. 38. A stately

I N D E X.

- church built there by Rufinus, the infamous minister of the emperor Theodosius, v. 119. Is taken by Chosroes II. king of Persia, viii. 185.
- Chalcondyles*, the Greek historian, his remarks on the several nations of Europe, xi. 320.
- Chalons*, battle of, between the Romans and Attila king of the Huns, vi. 94.
- Chamavians*, reduced and generously treated by Julian, iii. 180.
- Chancellor*, the original and modern application of this word compared, ii. 417.
- Charaeters*, national, the distinctions of, how formed, iv. 275.
- Chariots* of the Romans described, v. 222.
- Charlemagne* conquers the kingdom of Lombardy, ix. 32. His reception at Rome, 36. Eludes fulfilling the promises of Pepin and himself to the Roman pontiff, 39. His coronation at Rome by the pope Leo III. 50. His reign and character, 51. Extent of his empire, 55. His neighbours and enemies, 59. His successors, 61. His negotiations and treaty with the Eastern empire, 65. State of his family and dominions in the tenth century, x. 46.
- Charles* the Fat emperor of the Romans, ix. 63.
- Charles* of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily, xi. 146. The *Sicilian Vespers*, 151. His character as a senator of Rome, xii. 91.
- Charles* IV. emperor of Germany, his weakness and poverty, ix. 83. His public ostentation, 85. Contrast between him and Augustus, 86.
- Charles* V. emperor, parallel between him and Diocletian, ii. 141. And between the sack of Rome by him, and that by Alaric the Goth, v. 264.
- Chastity*, its high esteem among the ancient Germans, i. 302. And the primitive Christians, ii. 267.
- Chemistry*, the art of, from whom derived, ix. 361.
- Chersonesus*, Thracian, how fortified by the emperor Justinian, vii. 107.

I N D E X.

- Cherfonites* assist Constantine the Great against the Goths, iii. 95. Are cruelly persecuted by the Greek emperor Justinian II. viii. 330.
- Chest*, the object of the game of, and by whom invented, vii. 266.
- Childeric*, king of France, deposed under papal sanction, ix. 34.
- Children*, the exposing of, a prevailing vice of antiquity, viii. 42. Natural according to the Roman laws, what, 51.
- China*, how distinguished in ancient history, ii. 116. Great numbers of children annually exposed there, 286. Its situation, iv. 288. The high chronology claimed by the historians of, 289. The great wall of, when erected, 292. Was twice conquered by the northern tribes, 294. The Romans supplied with silk by the caravans from, vii. 77. Is conquered by the Moguls, xi. 210. 220. Expulsion of the Moguls, 222.
- Chivalry*, origin of the order of, x. 268.
- Cbnodomar*, prince of the Alemanni, taken prisoner by Julian at the battle of Strasburgh, iii. 178.
- Cbofroes*, king of Armenia, assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor king of Persia, i. 358.
- Cbofroes*, son of Tiridates, king of Armenia, his character, iii. 106.
- Cbofroes I.* king of Persia, protects the last surviving philosophers of Athens, in his treaty with the emperor Justinian, vii. 126. Review of his history, 259. Sells a peace to Justinian, 266. His invasion of Syria, 269. His negotiations with Justinian, 293. His prosperity, 296. Battle of Melitene, 297. His death, viii. 146.
- Cbofroes II.* king of Persia, is raised to the throne on the deposition of his father Hormouz, viii. 154. Is reduced to implore the assistance of the emperor Maurice, 156. His restoration and policy, 158. Conquers Syria, 183. Palestine, *ibid.* Egypt and Asia Minor, 184. His reign and magnificence, 185. Rejects the Mahometan religion, 188. Imposes an ignominious peace on the

I N D E X.

- emperor Heraclius, 191. His flight, deposition, and death, 209.
- Chozars*, the hord of, sent by the Turks to the assistance of the emperor Heraclius, viii. 204.
- Christ*, the festival of his birth, why fixed by the Romans at the winter solstice, iv. 19.
- Christians*, primitive, the various sects into which they branched out, ii. 229. Ascribed the Pagan idolatry to the agency of dæmons, 237. Believed the end of the world to be near at hand, 247. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church, 254. Their faith stronger than in modern times, 258. Their superior virtue and austerity, 260. Repentance a virtue in high esteem among them, *ib.* Their notions of marriage and chastity, 266. They disclaimed war and government, 268. Were active however in the internal government of their own society, 270. Bishops, 273. Synods, 275. Metropolitans and primates, 278. Bishop of Rome, 279. Their probable proportion to the Pagan subjects of the empire before the conversion of Constantine the Great, 305. Inquiry into their persecutions, 314. Why more odious to the governing powers than the Jews, 319. Their religious meetings suspected, 324. Are persecuted by Nero, as the incendiaries of Rome, 333. Instructions of the emperor Trajan to Pliny the younger for the regulation of his conduct toward them, 344. Remained exposed to popular resentment on public festivities, 345. Legal mode of proceeding against them, 347. The ardour with which they courted martyrdom, 359. When allowed to erect places for public worship, 368. Their persecution under Diocletian and his associates, 381. An edict of toleration for them published by Galerius just before his death, 396. Some considerations necessary to be attended to in reading the sufferings of the martyrs, 402. Edict of Milan published by Constantine the Great, iii. 194. Political recommendations of the Christian morality to Constantine, 197. Theory and practice of passive obedience, 198.

I N D E X.

- Their loyalty and zeal, 202. The sacrament of baptism, how administered in early times, 216. Extraordinary propagation of Christianity after it obtained the Imperial sanction, 219. Becomes the established religion of the Roman empire, 221. Spiritual and temporal powers distinguished, 222. Review of the episcopal order in the church, 224. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese, how divided, 232. Their legislative assemblies, 238. Edict of Constantine the Great against heretics, 242. Mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, 252. The doctrines of the Catholic church, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, 253. General character of the Christian sects, 319. Christian schools prohibited by the emperor Julian, iv. 89. They are removed from all offices of trust, 90. Are obliged to reinstate the Pagan temples, 92. Their imprudent and irregular zeal against idolatry, 97. Distinction of, into *vulgar* and *ascetic*, vi. 193. Conversion of the barbarous nations, 214.
- Christianity*, inquiry into the progress and establishment of, ii. 219. Religion and character of the Jews, 221. The Jewish religion the basis of Christianity, 226. Is offered to all mankind, 227. The sects into which the Christians divided, 229. The theology of, reduced to a systematical form in the school of Alexandria, 299. Injudicious conduct of its early advocates, 311. Its persecutions, 314. First erection of churches, 368. The system of, found in Plato's doctrine of the *Logos*, iii. 252. Salutary effects resulting from the conversion of the barbarous nations, vi. 220. Its progress in the north of Europe, x. 123.
- Chrysaphius* the Eunuch, engages Edecon, to assassinate his king Attila, vi. 67. Is put to death by the empress Pulcheria, 70. Assisted at the second council of Ephesus, viii. 248.
- Chrysocbeir*, general of the revolted Paulicians, over-runs and pillages Asia Minor, x. 72. His death, 74.

I N D E X.

- Chrysoloras*, Manuel, the Greek envoy, his character, xi. 356. His admiration of Rome and Constantinople, 368.
- Chrysopolis*, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 216.
- Chrysostom*, St. his account of the pompous luxury of the emperor Arcadius, v. 304. Protects his fugitive patron the eunuch Eutropius, 319. History of his promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, 325. His character and administration, 327. His persecution, 329. His death, 334. His relics removed to Constantinople, *ib.* His encomium on the monastic life, vi. 199.
- Ciburches*, Christian, the first erection of, ii. 368. Demolition of, under Diocletian, 388. Splendour of, under Constantine the Great, iii. 231. Seven, of Asia, the fate of, xi. 230.
- Cibalis*, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 202.
- Cicero*, his view of the philosophical opinions as to the immortality of the soul, ii. 242. His encomium on the study of the law, viii. 6. System of his *republic*, 20.
- Cimmerian* darkness, the expression of, whence derived, v. 224.
- Circumcellions* of Africa, Donatist schismatics, history of their revolt, iii. 315. Their religious suicides, 318. Persecution of, by the emperor Honorius, vi. 14.
- Circumcision* of both sexes, a physical custom in Æthiopia, unconnected with religion, viii. 307.
- Circus*, Roman, the four factions in, described, vii. 61. Constantinople, and the Eastern empire, distracted by these factions, 63.
- Cities* in the Roman empire enumerated, i. 63. Commercial, of Italy, rise, and government of ix. 76.
- Citizens* of Rome, motive of Caracalla for extending the privileges of, to all the free inhabitants of the empire, i. 210. 220. Political tendency of this grant, 221.

I N D E X.

- City* the birth of a new one, how celebrated by the Romans, iii. 11.
- Civilians* of Rome, origin of the profession, and the three periods in the history of, viii. 16.
- Civilis*, the Batavian, his successful revolt against the Romans, i. 310.
- Claudian* the poet, and Panegyrist of Stilicho, his works supply the deficiencies of history, v. 126. Celebrates the murder of Rufinus, 132. His death and character, 205. His character of the eunuch Eutropius, 309.
- Claudius*, emperor, chosen by the Pretorian guards, without the concurrence of the senate, i. 95.
- Claudius*, emperor, successor to Gallienus, his character and elevation to the throne, ii. 4.
- Cleander*, minister of the emperor Commodus, his history, i. 118.
- Clemens*, Flavius, and his wife Domitilla, why distinguished as Christian martyrs, ii. 341.
- Clement* III. pope, and the emperor Henry III. mutually confirm each other's sovereign characters, x. 172.
- Clement* V. pope, transfers the holy see from Rome to Avignon, xii. 108.
- Clergy*, when first distinguished from the laity, ii. 280. iii. 223. The ranks and numbers of, how multiplied, iii. 229. Their property, *ib.* Their offences only cognisable by their own order, 233. Valentinian's edict to restrain the avarice of, iv. 216.
- Clodion*, the first of the Merovingian race of kings of the Franks in Gaul, his reign, vi. 82.
- Clodius Albinus*, governor of Britain, his steady fidelity during the revolutions at Rome, i. 144. Declares himself against Julianus, 146.
- Clotilda*, niece of the king of Burgundy, is married to Clovis king of the Franks, and converts her Pagan husband, vi. 253. Exhorts her husband to the Gothic war, 263.
- Clovis*, king of the Franks, his descent, and reign, vi. 247.
- Cluverius*,

I N D E X

- Cluverius*, his account of the objects of adoration among the ancient Germans, i. 306.
- Cochineal*, importance of the discovery of, in the art of dying, vii. 74.
- Code of Justinian*, how formed, viii. 27. New edition of, 34.
- Codicils*, how far admitted by the Roman law respecting testaments, viii. 62.
- Cœnobites*, in monkish history, described, vi. 210.
- Coinage*, how regulated by the Roman emperors, xii. 86.
- Colchos*, the modern Mingrelia, described, vii. 277. Manners of the natives, 279. Revolt of, from the Romans to the Persians, and repentance, 285. Colchian war, in consequence, 290.
- Coliseum*, of the emperor Titus, observations on, xii. 196. Exhibition of a bull-feast in, 197.
- Collyridian* heretics, an account of, ix. 121.
- Colonies*, Roman, how planted, i. 47.
- Colonna*, history of the Roman family of, xii. 114.
- Colossus* of Rhodes, some account of, ix. 261.
- Columns* of Hercules, their situation, i. 35.
- Comana*, the rich temple of, suppressed, and the revenues confiscated, by the emperors of the East, iii. 56.
- Combat*, judicial, origin of, in the Salic laws, vi. 278. The laws of, according to the assize of Jerusalem, x. 318. Apology for the practice of, xi. 130.
- Comets*, account of those which appeared in the reign of Justinian, vii. 360.
- Commentiolus*, his disgraceful warfare against the Avars, viii. 167.
- Commodus*, emperor, his education, character, and reign, i. 111.
- Comneni*, origin of the family of, on the throne of Constantinople, viii. 385. Its extinction, xii. 57.
- Conception*, immaculate, of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of, from whence derived, ix. 124.
- Concubine*, according to the Roman civil law, explained, viii. 51.

I N D E X.

- Conflagration*, general ideas of the primitive Christians, concerning, ii. 250.
- Conquest*, the vanity of, not so justifiable as the desire of spoil, iv. 237. Is rather atchieved by art, than personal valour, vi. 34.
- Conrad III.* emperor, engages in the second crusade, x. 325. His disastrous expedition, 331.
- Conrad of Montferrat* defends Tyre against Saladin, x. 355. Is assassinated, 359.
- Constance*, treaty of, ix. 78.
- Constans*, the third son of Constantine the Great, is sent to govern the western provinces of the empire, iii. 89. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, on the death of their father, 102. Is invaded by his brother Constantine, 113. Is killed, on the usurpation of Magnentius, 115. Espoused the cause of Athanasius against his brother Constantius, 286.
- Constans II.* emperor of Constantinople, viii. 321.
- Constantia*, princess, grand-daughter of Constantine the Great, is carried by her mother to the camp of the usurper Procopius, iv. 198. Narrowly escapes falling into the hands of the Quadi, 266. Marries the emperor Gratian, 271.
- Constantina*, daughter of Constantine the Great, and widow of Hannibalianus, places the diadem on the head of the general Vetrano, iii. 116. Is married to Gallus, 134. Her character, 135. Dies, 139.
- Constantina*, widow of the Eastern emperor Maurice, the cruel fate of, and her daughters, viii. 177.
- Constantine the Great*, the several opinions as to the place of his birth, ii. 157. His history, 158. He is saluted emperor by the British legions on the death of his father, 160. Marries Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, 167. Puts Maximian to death, 175. General review of his administration in Gaul, 177. Undertakes to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius, 183. Defeats Maxentius, and enters Rome, 190. His alliance with Licinius, 195. Defeats Licinius, 202. 204. Peace

I N D E X.

concluded with Licinius, 205. His laws, 206. Chastises the Goths, 209. Second civil war with Licinius, 211. Motives which induced him to make Byzantium the capital of his empire, iii. 3. Declares his determination to spring from divine command, 11. Despoils other cities of their ornaments to decorate his new capital, 15. Ceremony of dedicating his new city, 21. Form of civil and military administration established there, *ib.* Separates the civil from the military administration, 41. Corrupted military discipline, 43. His character, 74. Account of his family, 78. His jealousy of his son Crispus, 81. Mysterious deaths of Crispus and Licinius, 84. His repentance and acts of atonement inquired into, 85. His sons and nephews, 87. Sends them to superintend the several provinces of the empire, 89. Assists the Sarmatians, and provokes the Goths, 93. Reduces the Goths to peace, 95. His death, 97. Attempt to ascertain the date of his conversion to Christianity, 190. His Pagan superstition, 193. Protects the Christians in Gaul, 194. Publishes the edict of Milan, *ib.* Motives which recommended the Christians to his favour, 197. Exhorts his subjects to embrace the Christian profession, 202. His famous standard the *Labarum* described, 205. His celebrated vision previous to his battle with Maxentius, 207. Story of the miraculous cross in the air, 210. His conversion accounted for, from natural and probable causes, 212. His theological discourses, 214. His devotion and privileges, 215. The delay of his baptism accounted for, 216. Is commemorated as a saint by the Greeks, 219. His edict against heretics, 241. Favours the cause of Cæcilian against Donatus, 245. His sensible letter to the bishop of Alexandria, 271. How prevailed on to ratify the Nicene creed, 272. His levity in religion, 275. Granted a toleration to his Pagan subjects, 321. His reform of Pagan abuses, 322. Was associated with the Heathen Deities after his death, by a decree of the senate, 324. His discovery of the

I N D E X.

- holy sepulchre, iv. 81. Publication of his fictitious donation to the bishops, of Rome, ix. 40. Fabulous interdiction of marriage with strangers, ascribed to him, x. 31.
- Constantine* II. the son of Constantine the Great, is sent to preside over Gaul, iii. 89. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, on the death of their father, 102. Invades his brother Constans, and is killed, 113.
- Constantine* III. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 318.
- Constantine* IV. Pogonatus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 323.
- Constantine* V. Copronymus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 335. Fates of his five sons, 338. Revolt of Artavasdes, and troubles on account of image worship, ix. 13. Abolishes the monkish order, 14.
- Constantine* VI. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 338.
- Constantine* VII. Prophyrogenitus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 367. His cautions against discovering the secret of the Greek fire, ix. 335. Account of his works x. 2. Their imperfections pointed out, 3. His account of the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, 29. Justifies the marriage of his son with the princess Bertha of France, 32.
- Constantine* VIII. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 369.
- Constantine* IX. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 369.
- Constantine* X. Monomachus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 383.
- Constantine* XI. Ducas, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 388.
- Constantine* Palæologus, the last of the Greek emperors, his reign, xi. 397.
- Constantine* Sylvanus, founder of the Paulicians, his death, x. 69.
- Constantine*, a private soldier in Britain, elected emperor, for the sake of his name, v. 189. He reduces Gaul and Spain, 191. 278. His reduction and death, 279.

I N D E X.

Constantine, general under Belisarius in Italy, his death, vii. 212.

Constantinople, its situation described, with the motives which induced Constantine the Great to make this city the capital of his empire, iii. 4. Its local advantages, 9. Its extent, 12. Progress of the work, 13. Principal edifices, 15. How furnished with inhabitants, 17. Privileges granted to it, 19. Its dedication, 20. Review of the new form of civil and military administration established there, 21. Is allotted to Constantine the younger, in the division of the empire, on the emperor's death, 102. Violent contests there between the rival bishops, Paul and Macedonius, 307. Bloody engagement between the Athanasians and Arians on the removal of the body of Constantine, 313. Triumphant entry of the emperor Julian, iv. 30. The senate of, allowed the same powers and honours as that at Rome, 44. Arrival of Valens, as emperor of the East, 194. Revolt of Procopius, *ib.* Continued the principal seat of the Arian heresy, during the reigns of Constantius and Valens, v. 14. Is purged from Arianism by the emperor Theodosius, 18. Council of, 22. Is enriched by the bodies of saints and martyrs, 105. Insurrection against Gainas and his Arian Goths, 321. Persecution of the archbishop, St. Chrysostom, 329. Popular tumults on his account, 331. Earthquake there, vi. 43. The city and eastern empire distracted by the factions of the circus, vii. 63. Foundation of the church of St. Sophia, 96. Other churches erected there by Justinian, 101. Triumph of Belisarius over the Vandals, 164. The walls of, injured by an earthquake, 352. State of the armies, under the emperor Maurice, viii. 168. The armies and city revolt against him, 172. Deliverance of the city from the Persians and Avars, 201. Religious war about the Trifagion, 259. Prospectus of the remaining history of the Eastern empire, viii. 309. Summary review of the five dynasties of the Greek empire, 421. Tumults in the city to oppose the destruction of images, ix. 14.

I N D E X.

Abolition of the monkish order by Constantine, 16.
 First siege of, by the Saracens, 324. Second siege
 by the Saracens, 328. Review of the provinces of the
 Greek empire, in the tenth century, x. 6. Riches of
 the city of Constantinople, 16. The imperial palace
 of, 19. Officers of state, 24. Military character of the
 Greeks, 40. The name and character of Romans,
 supported to the last, 52. Decline, and revival of
 literature, 53. The city menaced by the Turks, 101.
 Account of the Varangians, 107. Naval expeditions of
 the Russians against the city, 111. Origin of the sepa-
 ration of the Greek and Latin churches, xi. 1. Massacre
 of the Latins, 10. Invasion of the Greek empire, and
 conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders, 34. The
 city taken, and Isaac Angelus restored, 43. Part of
 the city burned by the Latins, 46. Second siege of
 the city by the Latins, 49. Is pillaged, 53. Account
 of the statues destroyed, 59. Partition of the Greek
 empire by the French and Venetians, 64. The Greeks
 rise against their Latin conquerors, 76. The city retaken
 by the Greeks, 99. The suburb of Galata, assigned
 to the Genoese, 191. Hostilities between the Genoese
 and the emperor, 194. How the city escaped the Moguls,
 223. Is besieged by the sultan Amurath II. 279. Is
 compared with Rome, 368. Is besieged by Mahomet
 II. sultan of the Turks, xii. 9. Is stormed and taken,
 44. Becomes the capital of the Turkish empire, 54.
Constantius Chlorus, governor of Dalmatia, was intended
 to be adopted by the emperor Carus, in the room of
 his vicious son Carinus, ii. 84. Is associated as Cæsar
 by Diocletian in his administration, 98. Assumes the
 title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 153.
 His death, 159. Granted a toleration to the Christians,
 192.
Constantius, the second son of Constantine the Great,
 his education, iii. 88. Is sent to govern the Eastern
 provinces of the empire, 89. Seizes Constantinople on
 the death of his father, 100. Conspires the deaths of

I N D E X.

his kinsmen, 101. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, 102. Restores Chosroes king of Armenia, 106. Battle of Singara with Sapor king of Persia, 107. Rejects the offers of Magnentius and Vetranio, on the plea of a vision, 118. His oration to the Illyrian troops at the interview with Vetranio, 120. Defeats Magnentius at the battle of Murfa, 124. His councils governed by eunuchs, 131. Education of his cousins Gallus and Julian, 132. Disgrace and death of Gallus, 139. Sends for Julian to court, 144. Invests him with the title of Cæsar, 147. Visits Rome, 149. Presents an obelisk to that city, 152. The Quadian and Sarmatian wars. 153. His Persian negotiations, 157. Mismanagement of affairs in the East, 166. Favours the Arians, 275. His religious character by Ammianus the historian, 277. His restless endeavours to establish an uniformity of Christian doctrine, 278. Athanasius driven into exile by the council of Antioch, 287. Is intimidated by his brother Constans, and invites Athanasius back again, 289. His severe treatment of those bishops who refused to concur in deposing Athanasius, 295. His scrupulous orthodoxy, 297. His cautious conduct in expelling Athanasius from Alexandria, 298. His strenuous efforts to seize his person, 300. Athanasius writes invectives to expose his character, 305. Is constrained to restore Liberius bishop of Rome, 310. Supports Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, and countenances his persecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 312. His conduct toward his Pagan subjects, 323. Envies the fame of Julian, iv. 2. Recals the legions from Gaul, 3. Negotiations between him and Julian, 16. His preparations to oppose Julian, 26. His death and character, 28.

Constantius, general, relieves the British emperor Constantine when besieged in Arles, v. 279. His character and victories, 281. His marriage with Placidia, and death, vi. 2.

Constantius, secretary to Attila king of the Huns, his

I N D E X

matrimonial negotiation at the court of Constantinople, vi. 54.

Consul, the office of, explained, i. 86. Alterations this office underwent under the emperors, and when Constantinople became the seat of empire, iii. 25. The office of, suppressed by the emperor Justinian, vii. 126. Is now sunk to a commercial agent, xii. 84.

Contracts, the Roman laws respecting, viii. 65.

Copts of Egypt, brief history of, viii. 296.

Corinth, reviving as a Roman colony, celebrates the Isthmian games, under the emperor Julian, iv. 45. The isthmus of, fortified by the emperor Justinian, vii. 107.

Corvinus, Matthias, king of Hungary, his character, xi. 391.

Cornwal, reduction of, by the Saxons, vi. 308.

Coronary gold, nature of those offerings to the Roman emperors, iii. 71.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, account of his Christian topography, vii. 83. viii. 283.

Cosmo of Medicis, his character, xi. 363.

Councils and synods of

Antioch, iii. 287.

Arles, iii. 293.

Basil, xi. 329.

Carthage, vi. 227. vii. 159.

Chalcedon, v. 330. viii. 250.

Clermont, x. 246.

Constance, xi. 323. 328. xii. 163.

Constantinople, v. 22. viii. 270. 274. ix. 12. xi. 6.

Ephesus, viii. 238. 248.

Ferrara, xi. 337.

Florence, xi. 339.

Frankfort, ix. 46.

Lyons, vi. 258. xi. 93. 143.

Milan, iii. 292.

Nice, iii. 261. ix. 43.

Pisa, xi. 328. xii. 162.

Placentia, x. 243.

I N D E X.

- Rimini, iii. 270.
 Sardica, iii. 288.
 Toledo, vi. 239. 242. 298.
 Tyre, iii. 284.
- Count*, great difference between the ancient and modern application of this title, iii. 42. By whom first invented, *ib.* Of the sacred largesses, under Constantine the Great, his office, 54. Of the domestics in the Eastern empire, his office, 57.
- Courtenay*, history of the family of, xi. 108.
- Crescentius*, consul of Rome, his vicissitudes, and disgraceful death, ix. 74.
- Crete*, the isle of, subdued by the Saracens, ix. 368. Is recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 394. Is purchased by the Venetians, xi. 69.
- Crimes*, how distinguished by the penal laws of the Romans, viii. 77.
- Crispus*, son of Constantine the Great, is declared Cæsar, ii. 205. Distinguishes his valour against the Franks and Alemanni, 209. Forces the passage of the Hellespont, and defeats the fleet of Licinius, 214. His character, iii. 80. His mysterious death, 83.
- Crispus*, the Patrician, marries the daughter of Phocas, and contributes to depose him, viii. 178. Is obliged to turn monk, 180.
- Croatia*, account of the kingdom of, x. 88.
- Cross*, the different sentiments entertained of this instrument of punishment, by the Pagan and Christian Romans, iii. 205. The famous standard of, in the army of Constantine the Great described, 206. His visions of, 207, 210. The holy sepulchre and cross of Christ discovered, iv. 81. The cross of Christ undiminished by distribution to pilgrims, 82.
- Crown* of thorns, its transfer from Constantinople to Paris, xi. 95.
- Crowns*, mural and obsidional, the distinction between, iv. 140.
- Crusade*, the first resolved on at the council of Clermont,

I N D E X

- x.** 248. Inquiry into the justice of the holy war, 249. Examination into the private motives of the crusaders, 255. Departure of the crusaders, 259. Account of the chiefs, 263. Their march to Constantinople, 272. Review of their numbers, 283. They take Nice, 286. Battle of Dorylæum, 288. They take Antioch, 292. Their distresses, 296. Are relieved by the discovery of the holy lance, 299. Siege and conquest of Jerusalem, 306. Godfrey of Bouillon chosen king of Jerusalem, 311. The second crusade, 325. The crusaders ill treated by the Greek emperors, 329. The third crusade, 354. Siege of Acre, 356. Fourth and fifth crusades, 365. Sixth crusade, 370. Seventh crusade, 374. Recapitulation of the fourth crusade, xi. 25. General consequences of the crusades, 103.
- Ctesiphon*, the city of plundered by the Romans, i. 275. Its situation described, iv. 142. Julian declines the siege of that city, 148. Is sacked by the Saracens, ix. 213.
- Cublai*, emperor of China, his character, xi. 221.
- Curopolata*, his office under the Greek emperors, x. 24.
- Custom*, duties of, imposed by Augustus, i. 215.
- Cycle* of indictions, the origin of, traced, and how now employed, iii. 61.
- Cyprian*, bishop of Carthage, his history and martyrdom, ii. 351.
- Cyprus*, the kingdom of, bestowed on the house of Lusignan, by Richard I. of England, xi. 13.
- Cyrene*, the Greek colonies there finally exterminated by Chosroes II. king of Persia, viii. 185.
- Cyriades*, an obscure fugitive, is set up by Sapor the Persian monarch, as emperor of Rome, i. 360.
- Cyril*, bishop of Jerusalem, his pompous relation of the miraculous appearance of a celestial cross, iii. 276. His ambiguous character, iv. 82.
- Cyril*, patriarch of Alexandria, his life and character, viii. 229. Condemns the heresy of Nestorius, 237.

I N D E X.

Procures the decision of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius, 239. His court intrigues, 243.
Cyzicus, how it escaped destruction from the Goths, 351. Is at length ruined by them, 353. The island and city of, seized by the usurper Procopius, iv. 198.

D

- Dacia*, conquest of, by the emperor Trajan, i. 6. Its situation, 30. Is over-run by the Goths, 326. Is resigned to them by Aurelian, ii. 17.
Demons, supposed to be the authors and objects of Pagan idolatry, by the primitive Christians, ii. 237.
Dagifseus, general of the emperor Justinian, besieges Petra, vii. 287. Commands the Huns in Italy under Narfes, 335.
Daimbert, archbishop of Pifa, installed patriarch of Jerusalem, x. 312.
Dalmatia described, i. 29. Produce of a silver mine there, 213.
Dalmatius, nephew of Constantine the Great, is created Cæsar, iii. 87. Is sent to govern the Gothic frontier, 89. Is cruelly destroyed by Constantius, 101.
Damascus, siege of, by the Saracens, ix. 227. The city reduced both by storm and by treaty, 235. Remarks on Hughes' tragedy of this siege, 238. Taken and destroyed by Tamerlane, xi. 269.
Damasus, bishop of Rome, edict of Valentinian addressed to him, to restrain the crafty avarice of the Roman clergy, iv. 216. His bloody contest with Ursinus for the episcopal dignity, 219.
Dames, the Arab, his gallant enterprize against the castle of Aleppo, ix. 254.
Damietta, is taken by Louis IX. of France, x. 371.
Damophilus, archbishop of Constantinople, resigns his see, rather than subscribe the Nicene creed, v. 18.
Dandolo, Henry, doge of Venice, his character, xi. 23. Is made despot of Romania, 68.

I N D E X.

- Daniel*, first bishop of Winchester, his instructions to St. Boniface, for the conversion of infidels, vi. 218.
- Danileis*, a Grecian matron, her presents to the emperor Basil, x. 14. Her visit to him at Constantinople, 21. Her testament, 22.
- Danube*, course of the river, and the provinces of, described, i. 28.
- Daphne*, the sacred grove and temple of, at Antioch, described, iv. 94. Is converted to Christian purposes by Gallus, and restored to the Pagans by Julian, 96. The temple burned, 97.
- Dara*, the fortification of, by Justinian, described, vii. 115. The demolition of, by the Persians, prevented by peace, 266. Is taken by Chosroes king of Persia, viii. 143.
- Darius*, his scheme for connecting the continents of Europe and Asia, iii. 5.
- Darkness*, præternatural, at the time of the passion, is unnoticed by the heathen philosophers and historians, ii. 312.
- Daftagard*, the Persian royal seat of, plundered by the emperor Heraclius, viii. 208.
- Datianus*, governor of Spain, yields ready obedience to the Imperial edicts against the Christians, ii. 392.
- Datus*, bishop of Milan, instigates the revolt of the Ligurians to Justinian, vii. 208. Escapes to Constantinople on the taking of Milan by the Burgundians, 215.
- Debtors*, insolvent, cruel punishment of, by the law of the twelve tables, viii. 72.
- Decemvirs*, review of the laws of their twelve tables, viii. 4. These laws superseded by the perpetual edict, 11. Severity of, 70.
- Decius*, his exaltation to the empire, i. 317. Was a persecutor of the Christians, ii. 370.
- Decurions*, in the Roman empire, are severely treated by the Imperial laws, iii. 63.

I N D E X

Deification of the Roman emperors, how this species of idolatry was introduced, i. 91.

Delators, are encouraged by the emperor Commodus, to gratify his hatred of the senate, i. 115. Are suppressed by Pertinax, 132.

Delphi, the sacred ornaments of the temple of, removed to Constantinople by Constantine the Great, iii. 16.

Democracy, a form of government unfavourable to freedom in a large state, i. 44.

Demosthenes, governor of Cæsarea, his gallant defence against, and heroic escape from, Sapor king of Persia, i. 361.

Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, humanely succours the captives brought from Rome by Genseric king of the Vandals, vi. 126.

Derar the Saracen, his character, ix. 230.

Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, conquered by Charlemagne, ix. 32.

Despot, nature of that title in the Greek empire, x. 24.

Despotism originates in superstition, i. 297.

Diadem assumed by Diocletian, what, ii. 136.

Diamonds, the art of cutting them, unknown to the ancients, i. 216.

Didius Julianus, purchases the imperial dignity at a public auction, i. 141.

Dioceses of the Roman empire, their number and government, iii. 35.

Diocletian, the manner of his military election to the empire, ii. 91. His birth and character, 93. Takes Maximian for his colleague, 96. Associates as Cæsars, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, 97. His triumph in conjunction with Maximian, 128. Fixes his court at the city of Nicomedia, 131. Abdicates the empire, 141. Parallel between him and the emperor Charles V. *ib.* Passes his life in retirement at Salona, 144. His impartial behaviour toward the Christians, 375. Causes

I N D E X.

- that produced the persecution of the Christians under his reign, 377.
- Dion Cassius* the historian, screened from the fury of the soldiers, by the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 206.
- Dioscorus*, patriarch of Alexandria, his outrageous behaviour at the second council of Ephesus, viii. 249. Is deposed by the council of Chalcedon, 253.
- Disubul*, great khan of the Turks, his reception of the ambassadors of Justinian, vii. 255.
- Divorce*, the liberty and abuse of, by the Roman laws, viii. 346. Limitations of, 48.
- Docetes*, their peculiar tenets, iii. 251. viii. 220. Derivation of their name, iii. 252.
- Dominic*, St. Loricatus, his fortitude in flagellation, x. 254.
- Dominus*, when this epithet was applied to the Roman emperors, ii. 134.
- Domitian*, emperor, his treatment of his kinsmen Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clemens, ii. 341.
- Domitian*, the Oriental prefect, is sent by the emperor Constantius, to reform the state of the East, then oppressed by Gallus, iii. 137. Is put to death there, 138.
- Donatus*, his contest with Cæcilian for the see of Carthage, iii. 245. History of the schism of the Donatists, 246. 315. Persecution of the Donatists by the emperor Honorius, vi. 13.
- Dorylaeum*, battle of, between sultan Soliman and the first crusaders, x. 288.
- Doxology*, how introduced into the church-service, and how perverted, iii. 307.
- Dramatic* representations at Rome, a character of, v. 234.
- Dreams*, the popular opinion of the preternatural origin of, favourable to that of Constantine previous to his battle with Maxentius, iii. 207.
- Dromedary*, extraordinary speed of this animal, ii. 36.

I N D E X

- Dromones* of the Greek empire, described, x. 38.
Druids. their power in Gaul suppressed by the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, i. 42.
Druses of mount Libanus, a character of, x. 236.
Duke, derivation of that title, and great change in the modern, from the ancient application of it, iii. 42.
Durazzo, siege of, by Robert Guiscard, x. 161.
 Battle of, between him and the Greek emperor Alexius, 166.

E

- Earthquake*, an extraordinary one over great part of the Roman empire, iv. 273. Account of those that happened in the reign of Justinian, vii. 364.
East-India, the Roman commercial intercourse with that region, i. 72. Commodities of, taxed by Alexander Severus, 215.
Ebionites, account of that sect, ii. 231. A confutation of their errors, supposed by the primitive fathers, to be a particular object in the writings of St. John the Evangelist, iii. 250. Their ideas of the person of Jesus Christ, viii. 217.
Ecclesiastes, the book of, why not likely to be the production of king Solomon, vii. 163.
Ecclesiastical and civil powers, distinguished, by the fathers of the Christian church, iii. 223.
Ecdicius, son of the emperor Avitus, his gallant conduct in Gaul, vi. 168.
Ethelbert of the emperor Heraclius, viii. 273.
Edda, of Iceland, the system of mythology in, i. 321.
Edecon, is sent from Attila king of the Huns, as his ambassador to the emperor Theodosius the younger, vi. 55. Engages in a proposal to assassinate Attila, 67. His son Odoacer, the first Barbarian king of Italy, 183.
Edeffa, the purest dialect of the Syriac language spoken there, i. 276. The property of the Christians there, confiscated by the emperor Julian, for the disorderly conduct

I N D E X.

- of the Arians, iv. 102. Revolt of the Roman troops there, viii. 170. Account of the school of, 280. History of the famous image there, ix. 5. The city and principality of seized by Baldwin the Crusader, x. 291. Is retaken by Zenghi, 338. The counts of xi. 109.
- Edict* of Milan, published by Constantine the Great, iii. 194.
- Edicts* of the prætors of Rome, under the republic, their nature and tendency, viii. 9.
- Edom*, why that name was applied to the Roman empire by the Jews, ii. 319.
- Edrisites*, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 388.
- Edward* I. of England, his crusade to the Holy Land, x. 375.
- Egidius*, his character, and revolt in Gaul, vi. 151. His son Syagrius, 294.
- Egypt*, general description of, i. 33. The superstitions of, with difficulty tolerated at Rome, 43. Amount of its revenues, 212. Public works executed there by Probus, ii. 75. Conduct of Diocletian there, 111. Progress of Christianity there, 300. Edict of the emperor Valens, to restrain the number of recluse monks there, iv. 216. The worship of Serapis how introduced there, v. 91. This temple, and the Alexandrian library destroyed by bishop Theophilus, 93. Origin of monkish institutions in, vi. 195. Great supplies of wheat furnished by, for the city of Constantinople, in the time of Justinian, vii. 73. Ecclesiastical history of, viii. 296. Reduced by the Saracens, ix. 264. Capture of Alexandria, 270. Administration of, 277. Description of, by Amrou, 278. The Egyptians take Jerusalem from the Turks, x. 303. Egypt conquered by the Turks, 340. Government of the Mamalukes there, 374.
- Elagabalus*, is declared emperor by the troops at Emesa, i. 190. Was the first Roman who wore garments of pure silk, vii. 76.

Elephants,

I N D E X.

- Elephants*, inquiry into the numbers of, brought into the field by the ancient princes of the East, i. 278.
 With what view introduced in the circus at Rome in the first Punic war, ii. 86.
- Eleusinian* mysteries, why tolerated by the emperor Valentinian, iv. 211.
- Elizabeth*, queen of England, the political use she made of the national pulpits, iii. 237.
- Emigration* of the ancient northern nations, the nature and motives of, examined, i. 269.
- Emperors* of Rome, a review of their constitutions, viii.
 11. Their legislative power, 13. Their rescripts, 14.
 —, of Germany, their limited powers, ix. 79.
 —, of Constantinople, their pomp and luxury, x. 18.
 Officers of the palace, state, and army, 24. Adoration of the emperor, mode of, 26. Their public appearance, 28. Their despotic power, 35. Their navy, 37. They retain the name of Romans to the last, 52.
- Empire*, Roman, division of, into the *East* and *West* empires by Valentinian, iv. 193. Extinction of the Western empire, vi. 182.
- Encampment*, Roman, described, i. 20.
- Ennodius*, the servile flatterer of Theodoric the Ostrogoth king of Italy, is made bishop of Pavia, vii. 14.
- Epagathus*, leader of the mutinous prætorians, who murdered their præfect Ulpian, punished by the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 206.
- Ephesus*, the famous temple of Diana at, destroyed by the Goths, i. 356. Council of, viii. 238. Episcopal riots there, 241.
- Epicurus*, his legacy to his philosophical disciples at Athens, vii. 122.
- Epirus*, despots of, on the dismemberment of the Greek empire, xi. 74.
- Equitius*, master general of the Illyrian frontier, is defeated by the Sarmatians, iv. 267.
- Erasmus*, his merit as a reformer, x. 83.
- Essenians*, their distinguishing tenets and practices, iii. 299.

I N D E X.

- Eucharist* a knotty subject to the first reformers, x. 80.
- Eudes*, duke of Aquitain, repels the first Saracen invasion of France, ix. 338. Implores the aid of Charles Martel, 341. Recovers his dukedom, 344.
- Eudocia*, her birth, character, and marriage, with the emperor Theodosius the younger, v. 343. Her disgrace and death, 347.
- Eudoxia*, her marriage with the emperor Arcadius, v. 123. Stimulates him to give up his favourite Eutropius, 319. Persecutes St. Chrysostom, 329. Her death and character, 335.
- Eudoxia*, the daughter of Theodosius the younger is betrothed to the young emperor Valentinian III. of the West, vi. 6. Her character, 114. Is married to the emperor Maximus, 121. Invites Genseric king of the Vandals to Italy, 122.
- Eudoxus*, bishop of Constantinople, baptizes the emperor Valens, iv. 212.
- Eugenius* the Rhetorician is made emperor of the West by Arbogastes the Frank, v. 66. Is defeated and killed by Theodosius, 72.
- Eugenius*, IV. pope, his contest with the council of Basil, xi. 329. Procures a re-union of the Latin and Greek churches, 344. Forms a league against the Turks, 379. Revolt of the Roman citizens against him, xii. 165.
- Eumenius* the Orator, some account of, ii. 150.
- Eunapius* the Sophist, his character of monks, and of the objects of their worship, v. 104.
- Eunomians*, punishment of, by the edict of the emperor Theodosius against heretics, v. 27.
- Eunuchs*, enumerated in the list of Eastern commodities imported and taxed in the time of Alexander Severus, i. 216. They infest the palace of the third Gordian, 253. Their ascendancy in the court of Constantius, iii. 131. Why they favoured the Arians, 275. Procure the banishment of Liberius bishop of Rome, 308. A conspiracy of, disappoint the schemes of Rufinus, and marry the emperor Arcadius to Eudoxia, v. 123. They

I N D E X.

- distract the court of the emperor Honorius, 247. And govern that of Arcadius, 307. Scheme of Chrysaphius to assassinate Attila king of the Huns, vi. 67.
- Euric*, king of the Visigoths in Gaul, his conquests in Spain, vi. 168. Is vested with all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps by Odoacer king of Italy, 246.
- Europe*, evidences that the climate of, was much colder in ancient than in modern times, i. 285. This alteration accounted for, 286. Final division of, between the Western and Eastern empires, v. 114. Is ravaged by Attila king of the Huns, vi. 42. Is now, one great republic, 327.
- Eusebia*, empress, wife of Constantius, her steady friendship to Julian, iii. 142. 144. Is accused of arts to deprive Julian of children, 148.
- Eusebius*, his character of the followers of Artemon, ii. 308. His own character, 401. His story of the miraculous appearance of the cross in the sky to Constantine the Great, iii. 210.
- Eutropius* the Eunuch, great chamberlain to the emperor Arcadius, conceals his marriage with Eudoxia, in opposition to the views of Rufinus, v. 123. Succeeds Rufinus in the emperor's confidence, 133. His character and administration, 306. Provides for his own security, in a new law against treason, 313. Takes sanctuary with St. Chrysostom, 319. His death, 320.
- Eutyches*, his opinion on the subject of the incarnation supported by the second council at Ephesus, viii. 249. And adhered to by the Armenians, 294.
- Euxine Sea*, description of the vessels used in navigating- i. 347.
- Exaltation* of the cross, origin of the annual festival of, viii. 214.
- Exarch*, under the Greek empire, the office and rank of, ix. 35. Of Ravenna, the government of Italy settled in, and administered by, vii. 349. viii. 119.
- Excise*, duties imposed by Augustus, i. 216.

I N D E X.

Excommunication from Christian communion, the origin of, ii. 286. iii. 234.

Exile, voluntary, under accusation and conscious guilt, its advantages among the Romans, viii. 84.

F.

Faith and its operations defined, ii. 260.

Falcandus, Hugo, character of his *Historia Sicula*, x. 190.

His lamentation on the transfer of the sovereignty of the island to the emperor Henry VI. 191.

Fathers of the Christian church, cause of their austere morality, ii. 263.

Fausta, empress, wife of Constantine the Great, causes of her being put to death, iii. 86.

Faustina, wife of Marcus Antoninus, her character, i. 110.

Fausina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, countenances the revolt of Procopius against the emperor Valens, iv. 198.

Felix, an African bishop, his martyrdom, ii. 387.

Festivals, Pagan, great offence taken at, by the primitive Christians, ii. 240.

Feudal government, the rudiments of, to be found among the Scythians, iii. 286.

Figures, numeral, occasion of their first public and familiar use, ix. 328.

Finances of the Roman empire, when the seat of it was removed to Constantinople, reviewed, iii. 60.

Fingal, his questionable history, whether to be connected with the invasion of Caledonia by the emperor Severus, i. 172.

Fire, Greek, the Saracen fleet destroyed by, in the harbour of Constantinople, ix. 331. Is long preserved as a secret, 336. Its effects not to be compared with gunpowder, x. 40.

Firmus, an Egyptian merchant, his revolt against the emperor Aurelian, ii. 38.

I N D E X.

- Firmus* the Moor, history of his revolt against the emperor Valentinian, iv. 243.
- Flagellation*, its efficacy in penance, and how proportioned, x. 254.
- Flamens*, Roman, their number, and peculiar office, v. 79.
- Flaminian* way, its course described, vii. 336.
- Flavian*, archbishop of Constantinople, is killed at the second council of Ephesus, viii. 250.
- Fleece*, golden, probable origin of the fable of, vii. 279.
- Florence*, the foundation of that city, v. 179.
- Is besieged by Radagaisus, and relieved by Stilicho, 180.
- Florantius*, prætorian præfect of Gaul under Constantius his character, iii. 185. iv. 6. Is condemned by the tribunal of Chalcedon, but suffered to escape by Julian, 39.
- Florianus*, brother of the emperor Tacitus, his eager usurpation of the Imperial dignity, ii. 59.
- Felix* is consecrated bishop of Rome, to supersede Liberius who was exiled, iii. 309. He is violently expelled, and his adherents slaughtered, 310.
- Fornication*, a doubtful plea for divorce, by gospel authority, viii. 49.
- France*, modern, computation of the number of its inhabitants, and the average of their taxation, iii. 67. The name of, whence derived, vi. 285. Derivation of the French language, 293. Childeric deposed and Pepin appointed king, by papal sanction, ix. 34. Reign and character of Charlemagne, 51. Invasion of, by the Saracens, 337.
- Frangipani*, Cencio, his profane violation of the persons of pope Gelasius II. and his college of cardinals, xii. 75. Derivation of his family name, 114.
- Franks*, their origin and confederacy, i. 338. They invade Gaul, and ravage Spain, 340. They pass over into Africa, 341. Bold and successful return of a colony

I N D E X.

- of, from the sea of Pontus, by sea, ii. 71. They over-run and establish themselves at Toxandria in Germany iii. 169. Their fidelity to the Roman government, v. 184. Origin of the Merovingian race of their kings, vi. 81. How converted to Christianity, 217. Reign of their king Clovis, 247. Final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 269. Their laws, 272. Give the name of *France* to their conquests in Gaul, 285. They degenerate into a state of anarchy, 293. They invade Italy, vii. 214. 344. Their military character, x. 45.
- Fraavitta* the Goth, his character, and deadly quarrel with his countryman Priulf, iv. 361. His operations against Gainas, v. 323.
- Frederic I.* emperor of Germany, his tyranny in Italy, ix. 77. Engages in the third crusade, x. 325. His disastrous expedition, 333. 355. Sacrifices Arnôld of Brescia to the pope, xii. 82. His reply to the Roman ambassadors, 95.
- Frederic II.* is driven out of Italy, ix. 78. His disputes with the pope, and reluctant crusade x. 366. Exhorts the European princes to unite in opposing the Tartars, xi. 218.
- Frederic III.* the last emperor crowned at Rome, xii. 166.
- Freemen* of Laconia, account of, x. 12.
- Fritigern*, the Gothic chief, extricates himself from the hands of Lupicinus, governor of Thrace, iv. 317. Defeats him, 318. Battle of Salices, 322. His strength recruited by the accession of new tribes, 324. Negotiates with Valens, 331. Battle of Hadrianople, 332. The union of the Gothic tribes broken by his death, 352.
- Freedmen*, among the Romans, their rank in society, viii. 38.
- Frummentius* was the first Christian missionary in Abyssinia, iii. 221.
- Fulk* of Neuilly, his ardour in preaching the fourth crusade, xi. 17.

I N D E X.

G.

Gabinus, king of the Quadi, is treacherously murdered by Marcellinus governor of Valeria, iv. 265.

Gaillard, M. character of his *Histoire de Charlemagne*, ix. 51.

Gainas the Goth is commissioned by Stilicho to execute his revenge on Rufinus, præfect of the East, v. 131. His conduct in the war against the revolter Tribigild, 317. Joins him, 321. His flight and death, 323.

Gala, probable derivation of the term, x. 28.

Galata, the suburb of, at Constantinople, assigned to the Genoese, xi. 191.

Galerius is associated in the administration, as Cæsar by the emperor Diocletian, ii. 98. Is defeated by the Persians, 119. Surprises and overthrows Narses, 121. Assumes the title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 153. His jealousy of Constantine, 158. Deems it prudent to acknowledge him Cæsar, 161. His unsuccessful invasion of Italy, 168. Invests Licinius with the purple on the death of Severus, 171. His death, 175. From what causes he entertained an aversion to the Christians, 379. Obtains the countenance of Diocletian for persecuting them, 380. Publishes an edict of toleration just before his death, 396.

Galileans, twofold application of that name in the infancy of Christianity, ii. 338. Why the emperor Julian applied this name to the Christians, iv. 87.

Gallienus, son of the emperor Valerian, is associated by him in the Imperial throne, i. 338. Prohibits the senators from exercising military employments, 344. Character of his administration after the captivity of his father, 364. Names Claudius for his successor, ii. 4. Favoured the Christians, 371.

Gallies of the Greek empire, described, x. 38.

Gallus elected emperor, on the minority of Hostilianus, the son of Decius, i. 333..

I N D E X.

- Gallus*, nephew of Constantine the Great, his education, iii. 132. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 134. His cruelty and imprudence, *ib.* His disgrace and death 139. Embraced the doctrine, but neglected the precepts, of Christianity, iv. 53. Converts the grove of Daphne at Antioch to a Christian burial place, 96.
- Games*, public, of the Romans, described, i. 257. ii. 84. v. 233. Account of the factions of the circus, vii. 61.
- Ganges*, source of that river, xi. 262.
- Gaudentius*, the notary, is condemned to death under the emperor Julian, iv. 40.
- Gaul*, the province of, described, i. 25. The power of the Druids suppressed there by Tiberius and Claudius, 42. Cities in, 64. Amount of the tribute paid by that province to Rome, 212. Is defended against the Franks by Posthumus, 340. Succession of usurpers there, ii. 25. Invasion of, by the Lygians, 65. Revolt of the Bagaudæ suppressed by Maximian, 100. Progress of Christianity there, 303. Proportion of the capitation tax levied there by the Roman emperors, iii. 66. Is invaded by the Germans, 168. The government of assigned to Julian, 170. His civil administration, 184. Is invaded by the Alemanni, under the emperor Valentinian, iv. 222. And under Gratian, 326. Destruction of idols and temples there, by Martin bishop of Tours, v. 89. Is overrun by the barbarous troops of Radagaisus, after his defeat by Stilicho, 186. Is settled by the Goths Burgundians, and Franks, 294. Assembly of the seven provinces in, 301. Reign of Theodoric king of the Visigoths in, vi. 77. Origin of the Merovingian race of kings of the Franks in, 81. Invasion of, by Attila king of the Huns, 86. Battle of Chalons, 94. Revolutions of, on the death of the emperor Majorian, 168. Conversion of, to Christianity by the Franks, 235. Representation of the advantages it enjoyed under the Roman government, 244. Conquests and prosperity of Euric king of the Visigoths, 246. Character and reign of

I N D E X.

- Clovis, 247. The Alemanni conquered, 251. Submission of the Armoricans, and the Roman troops, 255. Final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 269. History of the Salic laws, 272. The lands of, how claimed and divided by the Barbarian conquerors of, 279. Domain and benefices of the Merovingian princes, 281. Usurpations of the *Seniors*, 282. Privileges of the Romans in, 291.
- Gedrosia*, revolutions of the sea coast of, i. 272.
- Gelalaan* æra of the Turks, when settled, x. 225.
- Gelasius*, pope, his zeal against the celebration of the feast of Lupercalia, vi. 162. Deplores the miserable decay of Italy, 191.
- Gelasius* II. pope, his rough treatment by Censio Frangipani, xii. 75.
- Gelimer* deposes Hilderic the Vandal king of Africa, and usurps the government, vii. 131. Is defeated by Belisarius, 148. His final defeat, 153. His distressful flight, 160. Surrenders himself to Belisarius, 163. Graces his triumph, 165. His peaceful retirement, 166.
- General* of the Roman army, his extensive power, i. 82.
- Generosity*, Arabian, striking instances of, ix. 99.
- Gennadius*, the monk, his denunciation against a Greek union with the Latin church, xii. 22.
- Gennerid*, the Roman general, under the emperor Honorius, his character, v. 246.
- Genoese*, their mercantile establishment in the suburb of Pera at Constantinople, xi. 191. Their war with the emperor Cantacuzenus, 194.
- Genferic*, king of the Vandals in Spain, his character, vi. 11. Goes over to Africa on the invitation of count Boniface, 12. His successes there by the assistance of the Donatists, 15. Devastation of Africa by his troops, 16. Besieges Boniface in Hippo Regius, 18. His treacherous surprisal of Carthage, 22. Strengthens himself by an alliance with Attila king of the Huns, 40. Brutal treatment of his son's wife, daughter of Theodoric, 80. Raises a naval force, and invades Italy, 118.

I N D E X.

His sack of Rome, 123. Destroys the fleet of Majorian, 148. His naval depredations on Italy, 152. His claims on the Eastern empire, 154. Destroys the Roman fleet under Basilicus, 166. Was an Arian, and persecuted his Catholic subjects, 224.

Gentleman, etymology of the term, x. 268.

Geoponics of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, account of, x. 2.

George of Cappadocia supercedes Athanasius in the see of Alexandria, iii. 300. His scandalous history, and tragical death, iv. 99. Becomes the tutelar saint of England, 102.

Gepidæ, their incroachments on the Eastern empire checked by the Lombards, vii. 237. Are reduced by them, viii. 96.

Germanus, nephew of the emperor Justinian, his character and promotion to the command of the army sent to Italy, vii. 332. His death, 333.

Germany, the rude institutions of that country the original principles of European laws and manners, i. 283. Its ancient extent, 284. How peopled, 287. The natives unacquainted with letters in the time of Tacitus, 289. Had no cities, 290. Manners of the ancient Germans, 293. Population, 295. State of liberty among them, *ib.* Authority of their magistrates, 299. Conjugal faith and chastity, 302. Their religion 306. Arms and discipline, 309. Their feuds, 312. General idea of the German tribes, 315. Probus carries the Roman arms into Germany, ii. 67. A frontier wall built by Probus, from the Rhine to the Danube, 68. Invasions of Gaul by the Germans, iii. 168. iv. 222. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 57. The Imperial crown established in the name and nation of Germany, by the first Otho, 65. Division of, among the independent princes, 79. Formation of the Germanic constitution, 81. State assumed by the emperor, 85.

Gerontius, count, sets up Maximus as emperor in Spain, and loses his life in the attempt, v. 279.

I N D E X.

- Geta* and Caracalla, sons of the emperor Severus, their fixed antipathy to each other, i. 169.
- Ghebers* of Persia, history of, ix. 315.
- Gibraltar*, derivation of the name of, ix. 299.
- Gildo* the Moor, his revolt in Africa, v. 137. His defeat and death, 141.
- Gladiators*, desperate enterprize and fate of a party of, reserved for the triumph of Probus, ii. 74. The combats of, abolished by the emperor Honorius, v. 170.
- Glycerius* is first emperor of Rome, and then bishop of Salona, vi. 179. Murders Julius Nepos, and is made archbishop of Milan, 180.
- Gnostics*, character and account of the sect of, ii. 232. Principal sects into which they divided, 236. Their peculiar tenets, iii. 251. viii. 220.
- Godfrey* of Bouillon, his character, and engagement in the first crusade, x. 264. His route to Constantinople, 272. 277. Is elected king of Jerusalem, 311. Compiles the Assize of Jerusalem, 315. Form of his administration, 317.
- Gog* and *Magog*, the famous rampart of, described vii. 117.
- Goisvintba*, wife of Leovigild, king of Spain, her pious cruelty to the princess Ingundis, vi. 236.
- Gold* of affliction, the tax so denominated in the Eastern empire abolished by the emperor Anastasius, vii. 83.
- Golden horn*, why the Bosphorus obtained this appellation in remote antiquity, ii. 6.
- Gordianus*, proconsul of Africa, his character and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 233. His son associated with him in the imperial dignity, 234.
- Gordian*, the third and youngest, declared Cæsar, i. 242. Is declared emperor by the army, on the murder of Maximus and Balbinus, 252.
- Goths* of Scandinavia, their origin, i. 319. Their religion, 320. The Goths and Vandals supposed to be originally one great people, 323. Their emigrations to Prussia

I N D E X.

and the Ukraine, *ibid.* They invade the Roman provinces, 326. They receive tribute from the Romans, 334. They subdue the Bosporus, 347. Plunder the cities of Bithynia, 350. They ravage Greece, 354. Conclude a treaty with the emperor Aurelian, ii. 16. They ravage Illyricum, and are chastised by Constantine the Great, 209. Their war with the Sarmatians, iii. 93. Are again routed by Constantine, 94. Gothic war under the emperors Valentinian and Valens, iv. 259. Are defeated by the Huns, 303. They implore the protection of the emperor Valens, 307. They are received into the empire, 309. They are oppressed by the Roman governors of Thrace, 312. Are provoked to hostilities, and defeat Lupicinus, 316. They ravage Thrace, 318. Battle of Salices, 322. They are strengthened by fresh swarms of their countrymen, 323. Battle of Hadrianople, 332. Scour the country from Hadrianople to Constantinople, 338. Massacre of the Gothic youth in Asia, 341. Their formidable union broken by the death of Fritigern, 352. Death and funeral of Athanaric, 353. Invasion and defeat of the Ostrogoths, 355. Are settled in Thrace by Theodosius, 358. Their hostile sentiments, 360. Revolt of the Goths under Honorius, v. 147. They ravage Greece, under the command of Alaric, 149. They invade Italy, 158. The sack of Rome by, 254. Death of Alaric, 269. Victories of Wallia, in Spain, 292. They are settled in Aquitain, 293. See *Gaul*, and *Theodoric*. Conquest of the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, vi. 168. How the Goths were converted to the Christian religion, 214. 238. Reign of Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, vii. 2. The Goths, in Italy, extinguished, 350.

Government, civil, the origin of, i. 298.

Governors of provinces, under the emperors, their great power and influence, iii. 40.

Gratian was the first emperor who refused the pontifical robe, iii. 325. Marries the princess Constantia, and succeeds to the empire, iv. 271. Defeats the Alemanni

I N D E X

- in Gaul, 327. Invests Theodosius with the empire of the East, 343. His character and conduct, v. 1. His flight from Maximus, and death, 7. Overthrew the ecclesiastical establishment of Paganism, 81.
- Greece*, is ravaged by the Goths, i. 354. Is overrun by Alaric the Goth, v. 149. Is reduced by the Turks, xii. 58.
- Greek church*, origin of the schism of, xi. 1. 344. 371.
- Greek empire*. See *Constantinople*.
- Greeks*, why averse to the Roman language and manners, i. 50. The Greek becomes a scientific language among the Romans, 51. Character of the Greek language of Constantinople, xi. 347. When first taught in Italy, 355.
- Greek learning*, revival of, in Italy, xi. 350.
- Gregory the Great*, pope, his pious presents to Recared king of Spain, vi. 240. Exhorts Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards to propagate the Nicene faith, *ib.* His enmity to the venerable buildings and learning of Rome, viii. 131. His birth and early profession, 133. His elevation to the pontificate, 134. Sends a mission to convert the Britons, 136. Sanctifies the usurpation of the emperor Phocas, 175.
- Gregory II.* pope, his epistles to Leo III. emperor of Constantinople, ix. 18. Revolts against the Greek emperor, 24.
- Gregory VII.* pope, his ambitious schemes, ix. 71. His contest with the emperor Henry III. x. 171. His retreat to Salerno, 173. xii. 74.
- Gregory*, præfect of Africa, history of him and his daughter, ix. 282.
- Gregory Nazianzen*, his lamentation on the disgraceful discord among Christians, iii. 320. Loads the memory of the emperor Julian with invective, iv. 51. Censures Constantius for having spared his life, 64. Is presented to the wretched see of Salima, by his friend archbishop Basil, v. 16. His mission to Constantinople, 17. Is

I N D E X.

- placed on the archiepiscopal throne by Theodosius, 19.
His resignation and character, 24.
- Grumbates*, king of the Chionites, attends Sapor king of Persia, in his invasion of Mesopotamia, iii. 160. Loses his son at the siege of Amida, 162. Returns home in grief, 165.
- Guardianship*, how vested and exercised, according to the Roman civil laws, viii. 52.
- Gubazes*, king of Colchos, his alliance with Chosroes king of Persia, vii. 285. Returns to his former connexion with the emperor Justinian, 287. Is treacherously killed, 292.
- Guelfs* and *Ghibelines*, the parties of, in Italy, ix. 78. xii. 118.
- Guilt*, the degrees of, in the penal laws of the Romans, viii. 77.
- Guiscard*, *Robert*, his birth and character, x. 146. Acquires the dukedom of Apulia, 150. His Italian conquests, 152. Besieges Durazzo, 160. Defeats the Greek emperor Alexius there, 166. Engages in the cause of pope Gregory VII. 172. His second expedition to Greece, and death, 174.
- Gundobald*, king of the Burgundians, is reduced by Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 259. His mode of justifying the judicial combat, 278.
- Gunpowder*, the invention and use of, xi. 302.
- Guy* of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, his character, x. 349. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Saladin, 350.
- Gyarus*, a small island in the Ægean sea, an instance of its poverty, i. 213.

H

- Hadrian*, emperor, relinquishes the eastern conquests of Trajan, i. 9. Their characters compared, 10. His character contrasted with that of Antoninus Pius. *ib.* His several adoptions of successors, 100. Founds the

I N D E X

- city of Ælia Capitolina on mount Sion, ii. 230. Reforms the laws of Rome in the perpetual edict, viii. 11.
- Hadrianople*, battle of between Constantine the Great, and Licinius, ii. 213. Is ineffectually besieged by Fritigern the Goth, iv. 319. Battle of, between the emperor Valens and the Goths, 332.
- Hakem*, caliph of the Saracens, assumes a divine character to supplant the Mahometan faith, x. 235.
- Hamadanites*, the Saracen dynasty of, in Mesopotamia, ix. 390.
- Hannibal*, review of the state of Rome when he besieged that city, v. 212.
- Hannibalianus*, nephew of Constantine the Great, is dignified with the title of king, iii. 88. Provinces assigned to him for a kingdom, 89. Is cruelly destroyed by Constantius, 101.
- Happiness*, instance how little it depends on power and magnificence, ix. 353.
- Harmozan*, the Persian satrap, his interview with the caliph Omar, ix. 218.
- Harpies*, in ancient mythologic history, Le Clerc's conjecture concerning, iii. 5.
- Harun al Rashtid*, caliph, his friendly correspondence with the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 60. His wars with the Greek empire, 164.
- Hassan*, the Saracen, conquers Carthage, ix. 291.
- Harroking*, the art and sport of, introduced into Italy, by the Lombards, viii. 124.
- Hegira*, the æra of, how fixed, ix. 144.
- Helena*, the mother of Constantine, her parentage ascertained, ii. 157. Was converted to Christianity by her son, iii. 193.
- Helena*, sister of the emperor Constantius, married to Julian, iii. 145. Is reported to be deprived of children by the arts of the empress Eusebia, 148. Her death, iv. 16.
- Heliopolis* taken by the Saracens, ix. 241.

I N D E X.

- Hell*, according to Mahomet, described, ix. 135.
- Hellefpont* described, ii. 7.
- Helvetia*, amount of its population in the time of Cæſar, i. 295.
- Hengiſt*, his arrival in Britain, with ſuccours for Vortigern, againſt the Caledonians, vi. 301. His eſtabliſhment in Kent, 302. 305.
- Henoticon* of the emperor Zeno, character of, viii. 275.
- Henry* ſucceeds his brother Baldwin as emperor of Conſtantinople, xi. 81. His character and adminiſtration, 83.
- Henry III.* emperor, his conteſt with pope Gregory VII. x. 171. Takes Rome, and ſets up pope Clement III. 172.
- Henry VI.* emperor, conquers and pillages the iſland of Sicily, x. 193.
- Henry* the fowler, emperor of Germany, defeats the Turkiſh invaders, x. 102.
- Heptarchy*, Saxon, eſtabliſhment of, in Britain, vi. 302. review of the ſtate of, 313.
- Heraclian*, count of Africa, retains that province in obedience to Honorius, v. 253. His cruel uſage of the refugees from the ſack of Rome by Alaric, 263. His revolt and death, 277.
- Heracleonas*, emperor of Conſtantinople, viii. 319.
- Heraclius*, depoſes the Eaſtern uſurper Phocas, and is choſen emperor, viii. 179. Conqueſts of Chofroes II. king of Perſia, 183. His diſtreſſful ſituation, 188. Accepts an ignominious peace from Chofroes, 191. His firſt expedition againſt the Perſians, 194. His ſecond Perſian expedition, 197. Strengthens himſelf by an alliance with the Turks, 204. His third Perſian expedition, 206. His treaty of peace with Perſia, 212. His triumph and pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, 214. His theological inquiries, 272. Marries, his niece Martina, viii. 317.
- Leaves

I N D E X.

- Leaves his two sons joint successors to the empire, 318.
 Invasion of his provinces by the Saracens, ix. 229. Flies from Syria, 257.
- Heraclius* the præfect, his expedition against the Vandals in Africa, vi. 162.
- Heraclius* the eunuch, instigates the emperor Valentinian III. to the murder of the patrician Ætius, vi. 112.
 His death, 115.
- Herbelot*, character of his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, ix. 209.
- Hercynian* forest, the extent of, unknown in the time of Cæsar, i. 286.
- Heresy* in religion, the origin of, traced, ii. 235. Edict of Constantine the Great, against, iii. 242.
- Hermanric* king of the Ostrogoths, his conquests, iv. 257.
 His death, 304.
- Hermenegild* prince of Boetica, his marriage with Ingundis princess of Austrasia, and conversion to the Nicene faith, vi. 236. Revolt and death, 237.
- Hermits* of the East, their mortified course of life, vi. 210. Miracles performed by them and their relics, 212.
- Hermodorus*, the Ephesian, assists the Romans in compiling their twelve tables of laws, viii. 4.
- Hermogenes*, master general of the cavalry, is killed in the attempt to banish Paul, bishop of Constantinople, iii. 311.
- Hero* and *Leander*, the story of, by whom controverted and defended, iii. 7.
- Herodian*, his life of Alexander Severus, why preferable to that in the Augustan history, i. 209.
- Herodes Atticus*, his extraordinary fortune and munificence, i. 59.
- Herodotus*, his character of the Persian worship, i. 266.
- Heruli*, of Germany and Poland, their character, vii. 18.
- Hilarion*, the monk of Palestine, account of, vi. 197.

I. N D E X.

Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, his remarkable observations on the diversity of Christian doctrines, iii. 265. His exposition of the term Homoiousion, 268.

Hilary, pope, censures the emperor Anthemius for his tolerating principles, vi. 160.

Hilderic the Vandal king of Africa, his indulgence to his Catholic subjects displeases both the Arians and Athanasians, vii. 130. Is deposed by Gelimer, 131. Is put to death, 149.

Hindoos of the East, not the disciples of Zoroaster, ix. 315.

Hindostan, conquest of, by Tamerlane, xi. 260.

Hippo Regius, siege of, by Genseric king of the Vandals, vi. 18.

History, the principal subjects of, i. 315.

Holy war, the justice of it inquired into, x. 249.

Homicide, how commuted by the Salic laws, vi. 274.

Homoiousion, origin, and use of that term at the council of Nice, iii. 262. And Homoiousion, the distinction between, 268.

Honain, war of, ix. 161.

Honoratus, archbishop of Milan, is, with his clergy, driven from his see, by the Lombards, viii. 102.

Honoria, princess, sister of the emperor Valentinian III. her history, vi. 84.

Honorius, son of Theodosius the Great, is declared emperor of the West, by his dying father, v. 73. Marries Maria, the daughter of Stilicho, 144. His character, 145. Flies from Milan on the invasion of Italy by Alaric, 162. His triumphant entry into Rome, 169. Abolishes the combats of gladiators, 170. Fixes his residence at Ravenna, 172. Orders the death of Stilicho 199. His impolitic measures, and cruelty unite his barbarian soldiers against him under Alaric, 209. His councils distracted by the eunuchs, 247. His abject overtures to Attalus and Alaric, 251. His last acts, and death, 278. His triumph for the reduction of Spain by Wallia the Goth, 293. Is suspected of incest with his sister

I N D E X.

- Placidia*, vi. 2. His persecution of the Donatists in Africa, 13.
- Honour*, the new ranks of, introduced in the city of Constantinople, ii. 24. x. 22.
- Hormisdas*, a fugitive Persian prince, in the court of the emperor Constantius, his remarks on the city of Rome, iii. 363. His history, and station under Julian, iv. 128.
- Hormouz*, the son of Chosroes, king of Persia, his accession, viii. 146. His character, 147. Is deposed, and at length killed, 152.
- Horses*, of Arabia, their peculiar qualities, ix. 92.
- Hosein*, the son of Ali, his tragical death, ix. 191.
- Hospitallers*, knights, of St. John of Jerusalem, popularity and character of the order of, x. 315.
- Hostilianus*, the minor son of the emperor Decius, elected emperor, under the guardianship of Gallus, i. 333.
- Hugh*, king of Burgundy, his marriage with Marozia, and expulsion from Rome by Alberic, ix. 72.
- Hugh*, count of Vermandois, engages in the first crusade, x. 265. Is shipwrecked and made captive by the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, 276. His return, 298.
- Human nature*, its natural propensities, ii. 263.
- Hume*, Mr. his natural history of religion, the best commentary on the polytheism of the ancients, i. 382. His difficulty, as to the extent of the Imperial palace at Rome, resolved, 403. Charges the most refined and philosophic sects with intolerance, 417.
- Hungary*, establishment of the Huns in, vi. 30. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 58. Terror excited by their first approach to Europe, x. 92. Their character, 95.
- Huniades*, John, his exploits against the Turks, xi. 381. His defence of Belgrade, and death, 390.
- Hunneric*, the son of Genseric, king of the Vandals, persecutes his Catholic subjects, vi. 224. His cruelty to the Catholics of Tipasa, 234.
- Huns*, their original seat, and their conquests, iv. 290.

I N D E X.

- Their decline , 294. Their emigrations, 297. Their victories over the Goths , 363. 305. They drive other barbarous tribes before them , upon the Roman provinces , v. 176. Their establishment in Hungary , vi. 30. Character of their king Attila , 33. Their invasion of Persia , 38. The empire of, extinguished by the death of Attila , 110.
- Hunting* of wild beasts , when a virtue , and when a vice , i. 123. Is the school of war , iv. 284.
- Hypatia* , the female philosopher , murdered in the church at Alexandria , viii. 233.
- Hypatius* , sedition of , at Constantinople , vii. 70.

I and J.

- Jacobites* , of the East , history of the sect of , viii. 288.
- James* , St. his legendary exploits in Spain , ii. 304.
- Janizaries* , first institution of those troops , xi. 238.
- Iberian* and *Caspian* gates of mount Caucasus , distinguished , vii. 117. The Iberian gates occupied by Cabades king of Persia , *ibid.*
- Idatius* , his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations , v. 288.
- Idolatry* ascribed to the agency of dæmons , by the primitive Christians , ii. 237. Derivation of the term , and its successive applications , iii. 402.
- Jerom* , his extravagant representation of the devastation of Pannonia by the Goths , iv. 340. His influence over the widow Paula , vi. 200.
- Jerusalem* , its situation , destruction , and profanation , iv. 80. Pilgrimages to , and curious relics preserved there 81. Abortive attempt of the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple , 83. A magnificent church erected there to the Virgin Mary by Justinian , vii. 102. The vessels of the temple brought from Africa to Constantinople by Belisarius , 165. Is conquered by Chosroes II. king of Persia , viii. 183. Insurrection of the monks there , 256. The city conquered by the Saracens , ix. 249. Great

I N D E X

- resort of pilgrims to, x. 232. Conquest of by the Turks, 238. Is taken from the Turks by the Egyptians, x. 303. Is taken by the crusaders, 309. Is erected into a kingdom under Godfrey of Bouillon 311. Succession of its Christian princes, 348. Is pillaged by Jethe Carizmians, 370.
- rusalem*, New, described according to the ideas of the primitive Christians, ii. 249.
- Jesuits*, Portuguese, persecute the Eastern Christians, viii. 287. Their labours in, and expulsion from Abyssinia, 307.
- Jews*, an obscure, unsocial, obstinate race of men, ii. 221. Review of their history, 223. Their religion the basis of Christianity, 226. The promises of divine favour extended by Christianity to all mankind, 227. The immortality of the soul not inculcated in the law of Moses, 246. Why there are no Hebrew gospels extant, 295. Provoked the persecutions of the Roman emperors, 317.
- Jews*, those of a more liberal spirit adopted the theological system of Plato, iii. 249. Their condition under the emperors Constantine and Constantius, iv. 79. Abortive attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, 83. Miraculous conversion of a number of, at Minorca, v. 373. Persecution of, in Spain, vi. 240. Are persecuted by the Catholics in Italy, vii. 33. And by Cyril at Alexandria, viii. 231. How plagued by the emperor Justinian, 266. Those in Arabia subdued by Mahomet, ix. 155. Assist the Saracens in the reduction of Spain, 302. Massacres of, by the first crusaders, x. 260.
- Jezdegerd*, king of Persia, is said to be left guardian to Theodosius the younger, by the emperor Arcadius, v. 336. His war with Theodosius, 347.
- Jigilium*, the small island of, serves as a place of refuge for Romans who flew from the sack of Rome by Alaric, v. 262.

I N D E X.

- Ignatius*, bishop of Antioch the Christian fortitude displayed in his epistles, ii. 359.
- Isbidites*, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 390.
- Illustrious*, the title of, how limited in the times of Roman simplicity, and how extended when Constantinople became the seat of empire, iii. 24.
- Illyricum* described, i. 28.
- Images*, introduction of, into the Christian church, ix. 1. The worship of, derived from Paganism, 4. Are condemned by the council of Constantinople, 12. The adoration of, justified by pope Gregory II. 19. And sanctified by the second council of Nice, 43.
- Imperator*, in the Roman history, explained, i. 389. The Imperial prerogatives, 87. The court, 90. The sense of this appellation altered by long use, ii. 134.
- Incarnation*, theological history of the doctrine of, viii. 216.
- Incest*, natural, and arbitrary, distinguished, viii. 50.
- India*, account of the Christians of St. Thomas in, viii. 285. Persecution of, by the Portuguese, 286.
- Indictions*, the memorable æra of, whence dated, ii. 434. The name and use of, in the middle ages, whence derived, iii. 61.
- Indulgences* in the Romish church, the nature of, explained, x. 253.
- Ingundis*, princess of Austrasia, is married to Hermenegild prince of Boetica, and cruelly treated by his mother Goisvintha, vi. 236.
- Inheritance*, paternal, subject to parental discretion among the Romans, i. 217. The Roman law of, viii. 57. Testamentary dispositions of property, 60. The Voconian law, how evaded, 63.
- Injuries*, review of the Roman laws for the redress of, viii. 68.
- Innocent III.* pope, enjoyed the plenitude of papal power, x. 364.
- Inquisition*, the first erection of that tribunal, x. 365.
- Institutes* of Justinian, an analysis of, viii. 35.

I N D E X.

- Interest* of money, how regulated by the Roman laws, viii. 67.
- Joan*, pope, the story of, fictitious, ix. 70.
- John*, principal secretary to the emperor Honorius, usurps the empire after his death, vi. 3.
- John* the almsgiver, archbishop of Alexandria, relieves the Jewish refugees when Jerusalem was taken by the Persians, viii. 184. His extraordinary liberality of the church-treasure, 298.
- John*, bishop of Antioch, arrives at Ephesus after the meeting of the council, and, with his bishops, decides against Cyril, viii. 241. Coalition between him and Cyril, 242.
- John* of Apri, patriarch of Constantinople, his pride, and confederacy against John Cantacuzene, xi. 177.
- John* of Brienne emperor of Constantinople, xi. 90.
- John* of Cappadocia, prætorian præfect of the East, under the emperor Justinian, his character, vii. 90. Is disgraced by the empress Theodora, and becomes a bishop, 92. Opposes the African war, 133. His fraud in supplying the army with bread, 142.
- John Comnenus* emperor of Constantinople, ix. 397.
- John Damascenus*, St. his history, ix. 16.
- John* of Lycopolis, the hermit, his character and oracular promise to the emperor Theodosius the Great, v. 68.
- John*, the Monophysite bishop of Asia, is employed by the emperor Justinian to root out Pagans and heretics, viii. 265.
- John XII.* pope, his flagitious character, ix. 70.
- John XXIII.* pope, his profligate character, xii. 163.
- John*, St. the evangelist, reveals the true sense of Plato's doctrine of the *Logos*, iii. 250.
- John* the Sanguinary, seizes the Gothic treasures in Picenum, and obliges Vitiges to raise the siege of Rome, vii. 209.
- John Zimisces*, murders the Greek emperor Nicephorus, and succeeds him, viii. 375. His Eastern victories, ix. 395. Defeats Swatoslaus, czar of Russia, x. 118.

I N D E X,

- Jona*, one of the Hebride islands, its ancient monastic eminence, vi. 198.
- Jonas*, renegado of Damascus, story of, ix. 239.
- Jordan*, character of his work, *De Originibus Sclavicis*, x. 87..
- Joseph* the Carizmian, governor of Berzem, kills the sultan Alp Arslan, x. 220.
- Josephus*, the mention of Jesus Christ in his history, a forgery, ii. 336. His opinion, that Plato derived knowledge from the Jews, controverted, iii. 248.
- Jovian* is elected emperor by the troops of Julian, on their retreat from Assyria, iv. 164. His treaty with Sapor king of Persia, 168. His death, 186.
- Jovians* and Herculians, new bodies of guards instituted to supersede the Prætorian bands, ii. 133.
- Jovinian* of Verona, his punishment by a Roman synod, for heresy, v. 159.
- Jovinus* reduces the Alemanni, who had invaded Gaul, iv. 224. Account of his revolt against the emperor Honorius in Germany, v. 284.
- Jovius*, prætorian præfect under the emperor Honorius, succeeds Olympius as his confidential minister, v. 245. His negotiations with Alaric obstructed, 248. Deserts Honorius, and goes over to Alaric, and the new emperor Attalus, 252.
- Irene*, her marriage with the Greek emperor Leo, viii. 340. Her ambition, and barbarity to her son Constantine, *ib.* Restores images to public devotion, ix. 42.
- Ireland* was first colonised from Scotland, iv. 236. Derivation of the name of its tutelar saint, Patrick, vi. 187.
- Isaac I. Comnenus*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 384.
- Isaac II. Angelus*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 420. His character and reign, xi. 12. Is deposed by his brother Alexius, 15. Is restored by the crusaders, 42. His death, 49.
- Isaac*, archbishop of Armenia, his apology for the vices of king Artasires, v. 351.
- Isauria*, the rebellion there against the emperor Gallienus, i. 373.

I N D E X.

- Isaurians*, reduction of, by the Eastern emperors, viii. 108.
- Isidore*, cardinal, his ill treatment in Russia, xi. 374. Receives an act of union from the Greek clergy at Constantinople, xii. 21.
- Isocrates*, his price for the tuition of his pupils, vii. 122.
- Italy*, the dominion of, under Odoacer, succeeds the extinction of the Western empire, vi. 183. Its miserable state at this æra, 191. Conversion of the Lombards of, to the Nicene faith, 240. Is reduced by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, vii. 13. His administration, 15. Government of, according to the Roman law, by Theodoric, 22. Its flourishing state at this time, 27. How supplied with silk from China, 75. History of Amalasontha, queen of Italy, 175. Invasion of, by Belisarius, 185. Siege of Rome by the Goths, 191. Invasion of Italy by the Franks, 214. Revolt of the Goths, 308. Expedition of the eunuch Narses, 333. Invasion of, by the Franks and Alemanni, 344. Government of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, 349. Conquests of Alboin king of the Lombards in, viii. 101. Distress of, 115. How divided between the Lombards, and the exarchs of Ravenna, 119. Growth of the papal power in, ix. 16. Revolt of, against the Greek emperors, 22. The exarchate of Ravenna granted to the pope, 37. Extent of the dominion of Charlemagne there, 56. The power of the German Cæsars destroyed by the rise of the commercial cities there, 75. Factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins, 78. Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in, x. 127. Revival of Greek learning in, xi. 350. Authors consulted for the history of, xii. 177.
- Jubilee*, popish, a revival of the secular games, i. 257. xii. 109. The return of, accelerated, 111.
- Jude*, St. examination of his grandsons before the tribunal of the procurator of Judæa, ii. 340.
- Judgments* of God, in the Salic laws, how determined, vi. 276.
- Judgments*, popular, of the Romans, displayed, viii. 81.

I N D E X

Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Severus, her character, i. 169. Her death, 187.

Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great, his education, iii. 132. His dangerous situation on the death of his brother Gallus, 141. Is sent to Athens, where he cultivates philosophy, 143. Is recalled by Constantius, 145. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 147. Is appointed to the government of Gaul, 170. His first campaign, 172. Battle of Strasburgh, 175. Reduces the Franks at Toxandria, 178. His three expeditions beyond the Rhine, 181. Restores the cities of Gaul, 183. His civil administration, 184. His account of the theological calamities of the empire under Constantius, 315. Constantius grows jealous of him, iv. 3. The Gaulish legions are ordered into the East, *ib.* Is saluted emperor by the troops, 8. His embassy and epistle to Constantius, 12. His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, 14. Declares war against Constantius, and abjures the Christian religion, 16. His march from the Rhine into Illyricum, 21. Enters Sirmium, 24. Publishes apologies for his conduct, *ib.* His triumphant entry into Constantinople on the death of Constantius, 30. His private life and civil government, 31. His reformations in the Imperial palace, 34. Becomes a sloven to avoid foppery, 37. Erects a tribunal for the trial of the evil ministers of Constantius, *ib.* Dismisses the spies and informers employed by his predecessor, 41. His love of freedom and the republic, 42. His kindnesses to the Grecian cities, 45. His abilities as an orator, 46. And as a judge, 47. His character, 48. His apostacy accounted for, 52. Adopts the Pagan mythology, 54. His theological system, 58. His initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, and his fanaticism, 60. His hypocritical duplicity, 63. Writes a vindication of his apostacy, 65. His edict for a general toleration, 66. His pagan superstitious zeal, 69. His circular letters for the reformation of the Pagan religion, 71. His industry in gaining proselytes, 76. His

I N D E X.

- addresses to the Jews, 79. History of his attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, 83. Transfers the revenues of the Christian church, to the heathen priests, 88. Prohibits Christian schools, 89. Obliges the Christians to reinstate the Pagan temples, 92. Restores the sacred grove and temple of Daphne, 94. Punishes the Christians of Antioch for burning that temple, 98. His treatment of the cities of Edessa and Alexandria, 102. Banishes Athanasius; 105. The philosophical fable of his *Cæsars*, delineated, 110. Meditates the conquest of Persia, 112. Popular discontents during his residence at Antioch, 115. Occasion of writing his *Misopogon*, 118. His march to the Euphrates, 121. He enters the Persian territories, 127. Invades Assyria, 133. His personal conduct in this enterprize, 138. His address to his discontented troops, 140. His successful passage over the Tigris, 144. Burns his fleet, 150. His retreat and distress, 155. His death, 159. His funeral, 179.
- Julian*, count, offers to betray Spain into the hands of the Arabs, ix. 296. His advice to the victorious Turks, 301.
- Julian*, the papal legate, exhorts Ladislaus king of Hungary and Poland to a breach of faith with the Turks, xi. 383. His death and character, 387.
- Julius*, master-general of the troops in the Eastern empire, concert a general massacre of the Gothic youth in Asia. iv. 342.
- Jurisprudence*, Roman, a review of, viii. 1. Was polished by Grecian philosophy, 19. Abuses of, 85.
- Justin* the Elder, his military promotion, vii. 44. His elevation to the empire, and character, 45. His death, 50.
- Justin* II. emperor, succeeds his uncle Justinian, viii. 89. His firm behaviour to the ambassadors of the Avars, 90. His abdication, and investiture of Tiberius, as his successor, 109.
- Justin Martyr*, his decision in the case of the Ebionites,

I N D E X

ii. 232. His extravagant account of the progress of Christianity, 304. Occasion of his own conversion, 307.

Justina, the popular story of her marriage with the emperor Valentinian examined, iv. 270. Her infant son Valentinian II. invested with the imperial ensigns, on the death of his father, 271. Her contest with Ambrose archbishop of Milan, v. 33. Flies from the invasion of Maximus, with her son, 41.

Justinian, emperor of the East, his birth and promotion, vii. 44. His orthodoxy, 48. viii. 268. Is invested with the diadem by his uncle Justin, vii. 49. Marries Theodora, 55. Patronizes the blue faction of the circus, 64. State of agriculture and manufacture in his provinces, 73. Introduces the culture of the silk worm, and manufacture of silk, into Greece, 80. State of his revenue, 83. His avarice and profusion, 84. Taxes and monopolies, 86. His ministers, 90. His public buildings, 93. Founds the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 96. His other public works, 101. His European fortifications, 104. His Asiatic fortifications, 110. He suppresses the schools of Athens, 123. And the consular dignity, 126. Purchases a peace from the Persians, 130. 266. Undertakes to restore Hilderic king of Carthage, 132. Reduction of Africa, 158. His instructions for the government of, 159. His acquisitions in Spain, 172. His deceitful negotiations in Italy, 179. Weakness of his empire, 234. Receives an embassy from the Avars, 252. And from the Turks, 254. Persian war, 273. His negotiations with Chosroes, 293. His alliance with the Abyssinians, 298. Neglects the Italian war under Belisarius, 317. Settles the government of Italy under the exarch of Ravenna, 349. Disgrace and death of Belisarius, 356. His death and character, 357. Comets and calamities in his reign, 360. His Code, Pandects, and Institutes, viii. 1. His theological character and government, 262. His persecuting spirit, 264. Died a heretic, 271.

I N D E X.

- Justinian* II. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 325.
Justinian, the son of Germanus, his conspiracy with the empress Sophia, and successes against the Persians, viii. 111.
Juvenal, his remarks on the crowded state of the inhabitants of Rome, v. 236.

K

- Kban*, import of this title in the northern parts of Asia, iv. 286. v. 176.
King, the title of, conferred by Constantine the Great on his nephew Hannibalianus, iii. 88.
Kindred, degrees of, according to the Roman civil law, viii. 58.
Knighthood, how originally conferred, and its obligations, x. 269.
Koran of Mahomet, account and character of, ix. 126.
Koreish, the tribe of, acquire the custody of the Caaba at Mecca, ix. 110. Pedigree of Mahomet, 115. They oppose his pretensions to a prophetic character, 141. Flight of Mahomet, 143. Battle of Beder, 152. Battle of Ohud, 153. Mecca surrendered to Mahomet, 158.

L

- Labarum*, or standard of the cross, in the army of Constantine the Great, described, iii. 205.
Labeo, the civilian, his diligence in business and composition, viii. 18. His professional character, 23.
Lactantius, difficulties in ascertaining the date of his Divine Institutions, iii. 190. His flattering prediction of the influence of Christianity among mankind, 198. Inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire, 200.

I N D E X.

- Ladislauſ*, king of Hungary and Poland, leads an army againſt the Turks, xi. 381. His breach of faith with them, 383.
- Ladislauſ* king of Naples, haraſſes Rome during the ſchiſm of the papacy, xii. 160.
- Letuſ*, prætorian præfect, conſpires the death of Commoduſ, and confers the empire on Pertinax, i. 127.
- Laity*, when firſt diſtinguiſhed from the clergy, ii. 480.
- Lampadius*, a Roman Senator, boldly condemns the treaty with Alaric the Goth, v. 197.
- Lance, holy*, narrative of the miraculous diſcovery of, x. 299.
- Land*, how aſſeſſed by the Roman emperors, iii. 63. How divided by the Barbarians, vi. 279. Allodial, and Salic, diſtinguiſhed, 282. Of Italy how partitioned by Theodorick the Oſtrogoth, vii. 15.
- Laodicea*, its ancient ſplendour, i. 65.
- Laſcaris, Theodore*, eſtabliſhes an empire at Nice, xi. 72. His character, 120.
- Laſcaris, Theodore II.* his character, xi. 124.
- Laſcaris, Januſ*, the Greek grammarian, his character, xi. 359.
- Latin church*, occaſion of its ſeparation from the Greek church, xi. 1. Corruption and ſchiſm of, 328. Reunion of, with the Greek church, 344. The ſubſequent Greek ſchiſm, 371.
- Latium*, the right of, explained, i. 48.
- Laura*, in monkish hiſtory, explained, vi. 210.
- Law*, review of the profeſſion of, under the emperors, iii. 38.
- Laws* of Rome, a review of, viii. 1. Thoſe of the kings, 3. Of the twelve tables, 4. Of the people, 7. Decrees of the ſenate, and edicts of the prætors, 9. Conſtitutions of the emperors, 11. Their reſcripts, 13. The three codes of, 14. The forms of, 15. Succeſſion of civil lawyers, 16. Reformation of, by

I N D E X.

- Justinian, 25. Abolition and revival of the penal laws, 73.
- Lazi*, the tribe of, in Colchos, account of, vii. 284.
- Le Clerc*, character of his ecclesiastical history, viii. 216.
- Legacies* and inheritances, taxed by Augustus, i. 216. How regulated by the Roman law, viii. 61.
- Legion*, in the Roman army under the emperors, described, i. 15. General distribution of the legions, 22. The size of, reduced by Constantine the Great, iii. 45.
- Leo* of Thrace is made emperor of the East, by his master Aspar, vi. 156. Was the first Christian potentate who was crowned by a priest, *ib.* Confers the empire of the West on Anthemius, 157. His armament against the Vandals in Africa, 162. Murders Aspar and his sons, vii. 4.
- Leo* III. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 333. His edicts against images in churches, ix. 10. Revolt of Italy, 22.
- Leo* IV. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 338.
- Leo* V. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 346.
- Leo* VI. the philosopher, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 365. Extinguishes the power of the senate, x. 35.
- Leo* bishop of Rome, his character and embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila king of the Huns, vi. 106. Intercedes with Genferic king of the Vandals for clemency to the city of Rome, 123. Calls the council of Chalcedon, viii. 250.
- Leo* III. pope, his miraculous recovery from the assaults of assassins, ix. 49. Crowns Charlemagne emperor of the Romans, 50.
- Leo* IV. pope, his reign, ix. 373. Founds the Leonine city, 376.
- Leo* IX. pope, his expedition against the Normans of Apulia, x. 144. His treaty with them, 146.

I N D E X.

- Leo*, archbishop of Thessalonica, one of the restorers of Greek learning, x. 54.
- Leo*, general of the East, under the emperor Arcadius, his character, v. 317.
- Leo* Pilatus, first Greek professor at Florence, and in the West, his character, xi. 354.
- Leo*, the Jew proselyte, history of his family, xii. 113.
- Leonar*, the quæstor, his embassy from Constantius to Julian, iv. 17.
- Leonine* city at Rome founded, ix. 376.
- Leontius* is taken from prison, and chosen emperor of Constantinople, on the deposition of Justinian, II. viii. 326.
- Leovigild*, Gothic king of Spain, his character, vi. 236. Revolt and death of his son Hermenegild, 237.
- Letters*, a knowledge of, the test of civilization in a people, i. 289.
- Lewis* the Pious, emperor of the Romans, ix. 62.
- Lewis* II. emperor of the Romans, ix. 63. His epistle to the Greek emperor Basil, x. 129.
- Libanius*, his account of the private life of the emperor Julian, iv. 31. And of his divine visions, 61. Applauds the dissimulation of Julian, 64. His character, 119. His eulogium on the emperor Valens, 335.
- Liberius*, bishop of Rome, is banished by the emperor Constantius, for refusing to concur in deposing Athanasius, iii. 295. 309.
- Liberty*, public, the only sure guardians of, against an aspiring prince, i. 78.
- Licinius* is invested with the purple by the emperor Galerius, ii. 171. His alliance with Constantine the Great, 195. Defeats Maximin, 196. His cruelty, 197. Is defeated by Constantine at Cibalis, 202. And at Mardia, 204. Peace concluded with Constantine 205. Second civil war with Constantine, 211. His humiliation, and death, 216.
- Licinius*, fate of his son, iii. 84. Concurred with Constantine in

I N D E X.

- in publishing the edict of Milan, 194. Violated this engagement by oppressing the Christians, 201. Cæcilius's account of his vision, 208.
- Lieutenant*, imperial, his office and rank, i. 83.
- Lightning*, superstition of the Romans with reference to persons and places struck with, ii. 82
- Limigantes*, Sarmatian slaves, expel their masters, and usurp possession of their country, iii. 97. Extinction of, by Constantius, 156.
- Literature*, revival of, in Italy, xi. 350. Ancient, use and abuse of, 365.
- Lithuania*, its late conversion to Christianity, x. 124.
- Litorius*, count, is defeated and taken captive, in Gaul by Theodoric, vi. 78.
- Liutprand*, king of the Lombards, attacks the city of Rome, ix. 28.
- Liutprand*, bishop of Cremona, ambassador to Constantinople, ceremony of his audience with the emperor, x. 27.
- Logos*, Plato's doctrine of, iii. 248. Is expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 250. Athanasius confesses himself unable to comprehend it, 253. Controversies on the eternity of, 257.
- Logothete*, great, his office under the Greek emperors, x. 25.
- Lombardy*, ancient, described, i. 27. Conquest of, by Charlemagne, ix. 32.
- Lombards*, derivation of their name, and review of their history, vii. 238. Are employed by the emperor Justinian to check the Gepidæ, 240. Actions of their king Alboin, viii. 93. They reduce the Gepidæ, 96. They over-run that part of Italy now called Lombardy, 101. Extent of their kingdom, 121. Language and manners of the Lombards, *ib.* Government and laws, 127.
- Longinus*, his representation of the degeneracy of his age, i. 76. Is put to death by Aurelian, ii. 37. Is sent

I N D E X.

- to supercede Narſes, as exarch of Ravenna, viii. 100.
 Receives Roſamond the fugitive queen of the Lombards, 105.
- Lothaire* I. emperor of the Romans, ix. 62.
- Louis* VII. of France is reſcued from the treachery of the Greeks by Roger king of Sicily, x. 183. Undertakes the ſecond cruſade, 325. His diſaſtrous expedition, 332.
- Louis* IX. of France, his cruſades to the holy Land, x. 370. His death 374. Procured a valuable ſtock of relics from Conſtantinople, xi. 96.
- Lucian*, the ſeverity of his ſatire againſt the Heathen mythology, accounted for, i. 40.
- Lucian*, count of the Eaſt, under the emperor Arcadius, his cruel treatment by the præfect Rufinus, v. 122.
- Lucian*, preſbyter of Jeruſalem, his miraculous diſcovery of the body of St. Stephen, the firſt Chriſtian martyr, v. 107.
- Lucilian*, governor of Illyricum, is ſurpriſed, and kindly treated by Julian, iv. 23. His death, 186.
- Lucilla*, ſiſter of the emperor Commodus, her attempt to get him aſſaſſinated, i. 115.
- Lucius* II. and III. popes, their diſaſtrous reigns, xii. 76.
- Lucrine* lake deſcribed, with its late deſtruction, v. 223.
- Lucullan* villa in Campania, its deſcription and hiſtory, vi. 187.
- Luper calia*, the feaſt of, deſcribed, and continued under the Chriſtian emperors, vi. 160.
- Lupicinus*, the Roman governor of Thrace, oppreſſes the Gothic emigrants there, iv. 312. Raſhly provokes them to hoſtilities, 315. Is defeated by them, 317.
- Luſſal* contribution in the Roman empire, explained, iii. 70.
- Lutſer, Martin*, his character as a reformer, x. 81.

I N D E X.

Luxury, the only means of correcting the unequal distribution of property, i. 70.

Lygians, a formidable German nation, account of, ii. 65.

Lyons, battle of, between the competitors Severus and Albinus, i. 157.

M

Macedonius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, his contest with his competitor Paul, iii. 311. Fatal consequences, on his removing the body of the emperor Constantine to the church of St. Acacius, 313. His cruel persecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 314. His exile, viii. 261.

Macrianus, prætorian præfect under the emperor Valerian, his character, i. 359.

Macrianus, a prince of the Alemanni, his steady alliance with the emperor Valentinian, iv. 229.

Macrinus, his succession to the empire predicted by an African, i. 182. Accelerates the completion of the prophecy, 183. Purchases a peace with Parthia, 273.

Madayn, the capital of Persia, sacked by the Saracens, ix. 213.

Maonius of Palmyra assassinate his uncle Odenathus, ii. 29.

Mæsia, its situation, i. 30.

Magi, the worship of, in Persia, reformed by Artaxerxes, i. 263. Abridgement of the Persian theology, 264. Simplicity of their worship, 266. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 267. Their power, 269.

Magic, severe prosecution of persons for the crime of, at Rome and Antioch. iv. 202.

Magnentius assumes the empire in Gaul, iii. 114. Death of Constant, 115. Sends an embassy to Constantius, 117.

I N D E X.

- Makes war against Constantius, 122. Is defeated at the battle of Murfa, 124. Kills himself, 129.
- Mahmud*, the Gaznevide, his twelve expeditions into Hindostan, x. 197. His character, 198.
- Mahomet*, the prophet, his embassy to Chosroes II. king of Persia, viii. 188. His genealogy, birth, and education, ix. 115. His person and character, 117. Assumes his prophetic mission, 120. Inculcated the unity of God, 122. His reverential mention of Jesus Christ, 124. His Koran, 125. His miracles, 128. His precepts, 130. His Hell, and Paradise, 135. The best authorities for his history, 138. Converts his own family, 139. Preaches publicly at Mecca, *ib.* Escapes from the Koreishites there, 143. Is received as prince of Medina, 144. His regal dignity, and sacerdotal office, 147. Declares war against the infidels, 148. Battle of Beder, 152. Battle of Ohud, 153. Subdues the Jews of Arabia, 155. Submission of Mecca to him, 158. He conquers Arabia, 161. His sickness and death, 167. His character, 171. His private life, 174. His wives, 175. His children, 178. His posterity, 195. Remarks on the great spread and permanency of his religion, 198.
- Mahomet*, the son of Bajazet, his reign, xi. 292.
- Mahomet II.* sultan of the Turks, his character, xii. 1. His reign, 4. Indications of his hostile intentions against the Greeks, 5. He besieges Constantinople, 11. Takes the city by storm, 44. His entry into the city, 51. Makes it his capital, 54. His death, 64.
- Mahometism*, by what means propagated, ix. 313. Toleration of Christianity under, 319.
- Majorian*, his history, character, and elevation to the Western empire, vi. 137. His epistle to the senate, 138. His salutary laws, 139. His preparations to invade Africa, 144. His fleet destroyed by Genseric, 147. His death, 149.
- Malaterra*, his character of the Normans, x. 141.
- Malek Shab*, sultan of the Turks, his prosperous reign, x. 222. Reforms the Eastern calendar, 224. His death, 225.

I N D E X.

Mallius Theodorus, the great civil honours to which he attained, iii. 39.

Mamelukes, their origin and character, x. 373. Their establishment in Egypt, 374.

Mamea, mother of the young emperor Alexander Severus, acts as regent of the empire, i. 198. Is put to death with him, 228. Her conference with Origen, ii. 368.

Mango, an Armenian noble, his history, ii. 116.

Man, the only animal that can accommodate himself to all climates, i. 421.

Mancipium, in the Roman law, explained, viii. 56.

Manicheans are devoted to death, by the edict of Theodosius against heretics, v. 28.

Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 400. He repulses the Normans, x. 184. But fails in his scheme of subduing the Western empire, 187. His ill treatment of the crusaders, x. 329.

Maogamalcha, a city of Assyria, reduced and destroyed by the emperor Julian, iv. 135.

• *Marble*, the four species of, most esteemed by the Romans, i. 233.

Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses under the emperor Constant in Gaul, assists the usurpation of Magnentius, iii. 114. His embassy to Constantius, 117. Was killed in the battle of Mursa, 129.

Marcellinus, his revolt in Dalmatia, and character, vi. 150. Joins the emperor Anthemius, and expels the Vandals from Sardinia, 162. His death, 166.

Marcellinus, son of the præfect Maximin, his treacherous murder of Gabinius king of the Quadi, iv. 265.

Marcellus the centurion martyred for desertion, ii. 379.

Marcellus, bishop of Rome, exiled to restore peace to the city, ii. 394.

Marcellus, bishop of Apamea in Syria, loses his life in destroying the Pagan temples, v. 90.

Marcia, the concubine of the emperor Commodus, a patroness of the Christians, ii. 366.

Marcian, senator of Constantinople, marries the empress

I N D E X,

Pulcheria, and is acknowledged emperor, vi. 71. His temperate refusal of the demands of Attila the Hun, 72. *Marcianapolis*, the city of, taken by the Goths, i. 327. *Marcomanni*, are subdued and punished by Marcus Antoninus, i. 313. Alliance made with, by the emperor Gallienus, 345.

Marcus, elected bishop of the Nazarenes, ii. 231.

Mardia, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 204.

Margus, battle of, between Diocletian and Carinus, ii. 92.

Margus, bishop of, betrays his episcopal city into the hands of the Huns, vi. 40.

Maria, daughter of Eudæmon of Carthage, her remarkable adventures, vi. 25.

Mariana, his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations, v. 288.

Marinus, a subaltern officer, chosen emperor by the legions of Mæsia, i. 317.

Marius the armourer, a candidate for the purple among the competitors against Gallienus, his character, i. 367.

Mark, bishop of Arethusa, is cruelly treated by the emperor Julian, iv. 93.

Maronga, engagement there between the emperor Julian, and Sapor king of Persia, iv. 156.

Maronites of the East, character and history of, viii. 291.

Marozia, a Roman prostitute, the mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, of three popes, ix. 70.

Marriage, regulations of, by the Roman laws, viii. 43. Of Roman citizens with strangers, proscribed by their jurisprudence, x. 31.

Martel, Charles, duke of the Franks, his character, ix. 341. His politic conduct on the Saracen invasion of France, 342. Defeats the Saracens, 343. When he was consigned over to hell-flames by the clergy 344.

I N D E X.

Martin, bishop of Tours, destroys the idols and Pagan temples in Gaul, v. 89. His monkish institutions there, vi. 197.

Martina marries her uncle, the emperor Heraclius, viii. 317. Endeavours to share the Imperial dignity with her sons, 318. Her fate, 321.

Martinianus receives the title of Cæsar, from the emperor Licinius, ii. 216.

Martyrs, primitive, an inquiry into the true history of, ii. 314. The several inducements to martyrdom, 357. Three methods of escaping it, 361. Marks by which learned Catholics distinguish the relics of the martyrs, 351. The worship of, and their relics, introduced, v. 103.

Mary, Virgin, her immaculate conception, borrowed from the Koran, ix. 124.

Masazel, the persecuted brother of Gildo the moor, takes refuge in the Imperial court of Honorius, v. 119. Is intrusted with troops to reduce Gildo, *ibid.* Defeats him, 142. His suspicious death, 143.

Master of the offices, under Constantine the Great, his functions, iii. 52.

Maternus, his revolt and conspiracy against the emperor Commodus, i. 118.

Matthew, St. his gospel originally composed in Hebrew, ii. 295. viii. 218.

Maurice, his birth, character, and promotion to the Eastern empire, viii. 114. Restores Chosroes II. king of Persia, 156. His war against the Avars, 165. State of his armies, 168. His abdication and death, 173.

Mauritania, ancient, its situation and extent, i. 34. Character of the native Moors of, vi. 13.

Maxentius, the son of Maximian, declared emperor at Rome, ii. 165. His tyranny in Italy and Africa, 178. The military force he had to oppose Constantine, 182. His defeat and death, 191. His politic humanity to the Christians, 393.

Maximian, associate in the empire with Diocletian, his

I N D E X.

character, ii. 96. Triumphs with Diocletian, 128. Holds his court at Milan, 130. Abdicates the empire along with Diocletian, 143. He resumes the purple, 165. Reduces Severus, and puts him to death, 166. His second resignation, and unfortunate end, 176. His aversion to the Christians accounted for, 378.

Maximilianus, the African, a Christian martyr, ii. 379.

Maximin, his birth, fortune, and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 225. Why deemed a persecutor of the Christians, ii. 369.

Maximin is declared Cæsar, on the abdication of Diocletian, ii. 156. Obtains the rank of Augustus, from Galerius, 171. His defeat and death, 196. Renewed the persecution of the Christians after the toleration granted by Galerius, 398.

Maximin, the cruel minister of the emperor Valentinian, promoted to the præfecture of Gaul, iv. 206.

Maximin, his embassy from Theodosius the younger, to Attila king of the Huns, vi. 55.

Maximus and Balbinus elected joint emperors by the senate, on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 239.

Maximus, his character and revolt in Britain, v. 6. His treaty with the emperor Theodosius, 9. Persecutes the Priscillianists, 28. His invasion of Italy, 39. His defeat and death, 43.

Maximus, the Pagan preceptor of the emperor Julian, initiates him into the Eleusinian mysteries, iv. 61. Is honourably invited to Constantinople by his Imperial pupil, 75. Is corrupted by his residence at court, *ib.*

Maximus, Petronius, his wife ravished by Valentinian III. emperor of the West, vi. 114. His character, and elevation to the empire, 120.

Mebodes, the Persian general, ungratefully treated by Chosroes, vii. 261.

Mecca, its situation, and description, ix. 95. The Caaba, or temple of, 109. Its deliverance from Abrahah, 116. The doctrine of Mahomet opposed there, 141. His

I N D E X.

- escape, 143. The city of, surrendered to Mahomet, 158. Is pillaged by Abu Taher, 386.
- Medina*, reception of Mahomet there, on his flight from Mecca, ix. 144.
- Megalesia*, the festival of, at Rome, described, i. 118.
- Meletians*, an Egyptian sect, persecuted by Athanasius, iii. 283.
- Melitene*, battle of, between the Eastern emperor Tiberius, and Chosroes king of Persia, viii. 144.
- Melo*, citizen of Bari, invites the Normans into Italy, x. 136.
- Memphis*, its situation, and reduction by the Saracens, ix. 265.
- Merovingian* kings of the Franks in Gaul, origin of, vi. 81. Their domain and benefices, 281.
- Mervan*, caliph of the Saracens, and the last of the house of Ommiyah, his defeat and death, ix. 347.
- Mesopotamia*, invasion of by the emperor Julian, iv. 127. Described by Xenophon, 129.
- Messala*, Valerius, the first præfect of Rome, his high character, iii. 33.
- Messiah*, under what character he was expected by the Jews, ii. 226. His birth-day, how fixed by the Romans, iii. 19.
- Metals*, and money, their operation in improving the human mind, i. 292.
- Metellus* Numidicus, the censor, his invective against women, i. 199.
- Metius* Falconius, his artful speech to the emperor Tacitus in the senate on his election, ii. 54.
- Metrophanes* of Cyzicus, is made patriarch of Constantinople, xi. 373.
- Metz*, cruel treatment of, by Attila king of the Huns, vi. 87.
- Michael* I. Rhangabe, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 345.
- Michael* II. the Stammerer, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 349.

I N D E X.

- Michael* III. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 354. Is defeated by the Paulicians, x. 72.
- Michael* IV. the Paphlagonian, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 381.
- Michael* V. Calaphates, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 382.
- Michael* VI. Stratioticus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 384.
- Michael* VII. Parapinaces, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 390.
- Milan*, how the Imperial court of the Western empire came to be transferred from Rome to that city, ii. 130. Famous edict of Constantine the Great in favour of the Christians, published there, iii. 194. St. Ambrose elected archbishop of that city, v. 31. Tumults occasioned by his refusing a church for the Arian worship of the empress Justina and her son, 33. Revolt of, to Justinian, vii. 208. Is taken and destroyed by the Burgundians, 215. Is again destroyed by Frederic I. ix. 78.
- Military* force, its strength and efficacy dependent on a due proportion to the number of the people, i. 137.
- Military* officers of the Roman empire at the time of Constantine the Great, a review of, iii. 40.
- Millenium*, the doctrine of, explained, ii. 248.
- Mingrelia*. See *Colchus*.
- Minority*, two distinctions of, in the Roman law, v. 129.
- Miracles*, those of Christ and his apostles, escaped the notice of the heathen philosophers and historians, ii. 312. Account of those wrought by the body of St. Stephen, v. 107.
- Miraculous* powers of the primitive church, an inquiry into, ii. 254.
- Misibæus*, chief minister and father-in-law of the third Gordian, his character, i. 253.
- Misopogon* of the emperor Julian, on what occasion written, iv. 118.

I N D E X.

- Missorium*, or great gold dish of Adolphus king of the Visigoths, history of, v. 275.
- Moawiyah*, assumes the title of caliph, and makes war against Ali, ix. 187. His character and reign, 189. Lays siege to Constantinople, 324.
- Modar*, prince of the Amali, seduced by the emperor Theodosius, turns his arms against his own countrymen, iv. 353.
- Moguls*, primitive, their method of treating their conquered enemies, vi. 44. Reign and conquests of Zingis, xi. 201. Conquests of his successors, 209. See *Tamerlane*.
- Moguntiacum*, the city of, surprised by the Alemanni, iv. 226.
- Mokawkas* the Egyptian, his treaty with the Saracen Amrou, ix. 268.
- Monarchy* defined, i. 78. Hereditary, ridiculous in theory, but salutary in fact, 222. The peculiar objects of cruelty and of avarice under, iii. 61.
- Monastic* institutions, the seeds of, sown by the primitive Christians, ii. 267. Origin, progress, and consequences of, vi. 193.
- Money*, the standard and computation of, under Constantine the Great, and his successors, iii. 66.
- Monks* have embellished the sufferings of the primitive martyrs by fictions, ii. 348. Character of, by Eunapius, v. 104. By Rutilius, 140. Origin and history of, vi. 193. Their industry in making proselytes, 199. Their obedience, 201. Their dress and habitations, 202. Their diet, 204. Their manual labour, 205. Their riches, 206. Their solitude, 207. Their devotion and visions, 208. Their division into the classes of *Cenobites* and *Anachorets*, 210. Suppression of, at Constantinople, by Constantine V. ix. 16.
- Monophysites*, of the East, history of the sect of, viii. 288.
- Monothelism*, controversy, account of, viii. 272.
- Montesquieu* his description of the military government of the Roman empire, i. 255. His opinion that the

I N D E X.

- degrees of freedom in a state are measured by taxation, controverted, iii. 61.
- Montius*, quæstor of the palace, is sent by the emperor Constantius, with Domitian, to correct the administration of Gallus in the East, iii. 136. Is put to death there, 138.
- Moors* of Barbary, their miserable poverty, vii. 161. Their invasion of the Roman province punished by Salomon the Eunuch, 169.
- Morea* is reduced by the Turks, xii. 58.
- Morofini*, Thomas, elected patriarch of Constantinople by the Venetians, xi. 67.
- Moseilama*, an Arabian chief, endeavours to rival Mahomet in his prophetic character, ix. 204.
- Moses*, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul not inculcated in his law, ii. 246. His sanguinary laws compared with those of Mahomet, ix. 149.
- Mosheim*, character of his work *De rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, viii. 216.
- Moslemab* the Saracen besieges Constantinople, ix. 330.
- Mostasssem*, the last caliph of the Saracens, his wars with the Greek emperor Theophilus, ix. 377. Is killed by the Moguls, xi. 214.
- Mourzouffe*, usurps the Greek empire, and destroys Isaac Angelus, and his son Alexius, xi. 49. Is driven from Constantinople by the Latins, 53. His death, 71.
- Mousa*, the son of Bajazet, invested with the kingdom of Anatolia, by Tamerlane, xi. 276. His reign, 291.
- Mozarabes*, in the history of Spain, explained, ix. 319.
- Municipal* cities, their advantages, i. 47.
- Muratori*, his literary character, xii. 177.
- Murfa*, battle of, between the emperor Constantius, and the usurper Magnentius, iii. 124.
- Musa*, the Saracen, his conquest of Spain, ix. 304. His disgrace, 308. His death, 310.
- Mustapha*, the supposed son of Bajazet, his story, x. 389.

I N D E X.

Muta, battle of, between the forces of the emperor Heraclius and those of Mahomet, ix. 165.

Mygdonius, river, the course of, stopped by Sapor king of Persia, at the siege of Nisibis, iii. 110.

N

Narbonne is besieged by Theodoric, and relieved by count Litorius, vi. 78.

Nacoragan, the Persian general, his defeat by the Romans, and cruel fate, vii. 291.

Naißus, battle of, between the emperor Claudius and the Goths, ii. 11.

Naples is besieged and taken by Belisarius, vii. 186. Extent of the dutchy of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, viii. 120.

Narfes, his embassy from Sapor king of Persia to the emperor Constantius, iii. 158.

Narfes, king of Persia, prevails over the pretensions of his brother Hormuz, and expels Tiridates king of Armenia, ii. 118. Overthrows Galerius, 119. Is surprised and routed by Galerius, 121. Articles of peace between him and the Romans, 126.

Narfes, the Persian general of the emperor Maurice, restores Chosroes II. king of Persia, viii. 156. His revolt against Phocas, and cruel death, 182.

Narfes, the eunuch, his military promotion, and dissension with Belisarius, vii. 213. His character and expedition to Italy, 333. Battle of Tagina, 337. Takes Rome, 339. Reduces and kills Teias, the last king of the Goths, 341. Defeats the Franks and Alemanni, 346. Governs Italy in the capacity of exarch, 349. His disgrace, and death, viii. 99.

Naulobatus, a chief of the Heruli, enters into the Roman service, and is made consul, i. 354.

Navy of the Roman empire described, i. 22.

Nazarene church at Jerusalem, account of, ii. 229.

I N D E X.

- Nazarius*, the Pagan orator, his account of miraculous appearances in the sky in favour of Constantine the Great, iii. 210.
- Nebrius*, prætorian præfect in Gaul, is maimed and superseded, by his indiscreet opposition to the troops of Julian, iv. 20.
- Negroes*, of Africa, evidences of their intellectual inferiority to the rest of mankind, iv. 249.
- Nestarius*, is chosen archbishop of Constantinople, v. 25.
- Nennius*, his account of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, different from that of Gildas, Bede, and Witikind, vi. 302.
- Nepos, Julius*, is made emperor of the West by Leo the Great, vi. 178.
- Nepotian*, account of his revolt in Italy, iii. 126.
- Nero*, persecutes the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, ii. 333.
- Nerva*, emperor, his character, and prudent adoption of Trajan, i. 99.
- Nestorius*, archbishop of Constantinople, his character, viii. 234. His heresy concerning the incarnation, 236. His dispute with Cyril of Alexandria, 237. Is condemned, and degraded from his episcopal dignity, by the council of Ephesus, 240. Is exiled, 245. His death, 247. His opinions still retained in Persia, 278. Missions of his disciples in the East Indies, 282.
- Nevers*, John count of, disastrous fate of him and his party at the battle of Nicopolis, xi. 242.
- Nice*, becomes the capital residence of sultan Soliman, ix. 230. Siege of, by the first crusaders, x. 286.
- Nicephorus I.* emperor of Constantinople, viii. 344. His wars with the Saracens, ix. 366. His death, x. 90.
- Nicephorus II. Phocas*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 372. His military enterprises, ix. 394.
- Nicephorus III. Botaniates*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 392. Was raised to the throne by sultan Soliman, x. 228.
- Nicetas*, senator of Constantinople, his flight, on the

I N D E X.

- capture of the city by the Latins, xi. 57. His brief history, 60. His account of the statues destroyed at Constantinople, *ibid*.
- Nicholas*, patriarch of Constantinople, opposes the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo the philosopher, viii. 367.
- Nicholas V.* pope, his character, xi. 362. How interested in the fall of Constantinople, xii. 16.
- Nicomedia*, the court of Diocletian held there, and the city embellished by him, ii. 131. The church of, demolished by Diocletian, 381. His palace fired, 385.
- Nicopolis*, battle of, between sultan Bajazet, and Sigismund king of Hungary, xi. 241.
- Nika*, the sedition of, at Constantinople, vii. 66.
- Nineveh*, battle of, between the emperor Heraclius, and the Persians, viii. 207.
- Nisibis*, the city of, described, and its obstinate defence against the Persians, iii. 109. Is yielded to Sapor by treaty, iv. 169.
- Nizam*, the Persian vizir, his illustrious character, and unhappy fate, x. 225.
- Noah*, his ark very convenient for resolving the difficulties of Mosaic antiquarians, i. 288.
- Nobilissimus*, a title invented by Constantine the Great, to distinguish his nephew Hannibalianus, iii. 87.
- Noricum*, described, i. 29.
- Normans*, their settlement in the province of Normandy in France, x. 135. Their introduction to Italy, 137. They serve in Sicily, 139. They conquer Apulia, 140. Their character, 141. Their treaty with the pope 145.
- Novatians*, are exempted by Constantine the Great, in a particular edict from the general penalties of heresy, iii. 243. Are cruelly persecuted by Macedonius bishop of Constantinople, 314.
- Novels* of Justinian, how formed, and their character, viii. 34.
- Nouredin*, sultan, his exalted character, x. 339.
- Nubia*, conversion of, to Christianity, viii. 302.

I N D E X.

Numerian, the son of Carus, succeeds his father in the empire, in conjunction with his brother Carinus, ii. 81.
Numidia, its extent at different æras of the Roman history, i. 34.

O

Oasis, in the deserts of Lybia, described, v. 312. Three places under this name pointed out, viii. 246.
Obedience, passive; theory and practice of the Christian doctrine of, iii. 198.
Obelisks, Egyptian, the purpose of their erection, iii. 152.
Oblations to the church, origin of, ii. 281.
Obligations, human, the sources of, viii. 64. Laws of the Romans respecting, 65.
Odenatbus, the Palmyrene, his successful opposition to Sapor king of Persia, i. 362. Is associated in the empire by Gallienus, 369. Character and fate of his queen Zenobia, ii. 27.
Odin, the long reign of his family in Sweden, i. 297. His history, 321.
Odoacer, the first Barbarian king of Italy, vi. 184. His character and reign, 189. Relinquishes all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, to Euric, king of the Visigoths, 246. Is reduced and killed by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, vii. 11.
Obud, battle of, between Mahomet and Abu Sophian, prince of Mecca, ix. 153.
Olga, princess of Russia, her baptism, x. 121.
Olive, its introduction into the western world, i. 69.
Olybrius is raised to the Western empire by count Ricimer, vi. 175.
Olympic games compared with the tournaments of the Goths, x. 271.
Olympiodorus, his account of the magnificence of the city of Rome, v. 217. His account of the marriage of Adolphus king of the Visigoths, with the princess Placidia, 272.

Olympius,

I N D E X.

- Olympius*, favourite of the emperor Honorius, alarms him with unfavourable suspicions of the designs of Stilicho, v. 198. Causes Stilicho to be put to death, 201. His disgrace, and ignominious death, 245.
- Omar*, caliph of the Saracens, ix. 121. His character, 207. His journey to Jerusalem, 250.
- Ommiyah*, elevation of the house of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, ix. 189. Why not the objects of public favour, 345. Destruction of, 347.
- Oracles*, Heathen, are silenced by Constantine the Great, iii. 322.
- Orchan*, emir of the Ottomans, his reign, xi. 228. Marries the daughter of the Greek emperor Cantacuzene, 233.
- Ordination* of the clergy in the early ages of the church, an account of, iii. 227.
- Orestes*, is sent ambassador from Attila king of the Huns, to the emperor Theodosius the younger, vi. 55. His history and promotion under the Western emperors, 180. His son Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, 181.
- Orestes*, prætor of Egypt, is insulted by a monkish mob in Alexandria, viii. 233.
- Origen* declares the number of primitive martyrs to be very inconsiderable, ii. 351. His conference with the empress Mammæa, 368. His memory persecuted by the emperor Justinian and his clergy, viii. 269.
- Orleans* besieged by Attila king of the Huns, and relieved by Ætius and Theodoric, vi. 88.
- Osius*, bishop of Cordova. his great influence with Constantine the Great, iii. 213. Prevails on Constantine to ratify the Nicene creed, 273. Is with difficulty prevailed on to concur in deposing Athanasius, 295.
- Osrboene*, the small kingdom of, reduced by the Romans, i. 275.
- Ossian*, his poems, whether to be connected with the invasion of Caledonia by the emperor Severus, i. 172. Is said to have disputed with a Christian missionary, ii. 305.

I N D E X.

- Ofsia*, the port of, described, v. 249.
Othman, caliph of the Saracens, ix. 182.
Othman, the father of the Ottomans, his reign, xi. 226.
Otbo I. king of Germany, restores and appropriates the Western empire, ix. 64. Claims by treaty the nomination of the pope of Rome, 69. Defeats the Turks, x. 103.
Otbo II. deposes pope John XII. and chastises his party at Rome, ix. 73.
Otbo, bishop of Frisingen, his character as an historian, xii. 93.
Ottomans, origin and history of, xi. 225. They obtain an establishment in Europe, 234.
Ovid, is banished to the banks of the Danube, iii. 92.
Oxyrinchus, in Egypt, monkish piety of that city, vi. 196.

P

- Pacatus*, his encomium on the emperor Theodosius the Great, v. 50.
Paderasty, how punished by the Scatinian law, viii. 78. By Justinian, 80.
Pagan, derivation and revolutions of the term, iii. 325.
Paganism, the ruin of, suspended by the divisions among the Christians, iii. 326. Theological system of the emperor Julian, iv. 58. General review of the ecclesiastical establishment and jurisdiction of, before it was subverted by Christianity, v. 79. Is renounced by the Roman senate, 85. The Pagan sacrifices prohibited, 87. The temples demolished, 88. The ruin of, deplored by the sophists, 103. Pagan ceremonies revived in Christian churches, 111.
Palaologus, *Constantine*, Greek emperor, his reign, xi. 397. Is killed in the storm of Constantinople by the Turks, xii. 43.
Palaologus, *John*, emperor of Constantinople, xi. 174. Marries the daughter of John Cantacuzene, 184. Takes up arms against Cantacuzene, and is reduced to

I N D E X.

- flight, 186. His restoration, 187. Discord between him and his sons, 246. His treaty with pope Innocent VI. 312. His visit to pope Urban V. at Rome, 313.
- Palæologus, John II.* Greek emperor, his zeal, xi. 326. His voyage to Italy, 331.
- Palæologus, Manuel*, associated with his father John, in the Greek empire, xi. 246. Tribute exacted from him by sultan Bajazet, 249. His treaties with Soliman and Mahomet, the sons of Bajazet VI. 295. His visit to the courts of Europe, 316. Private motives of his European negociations explained, 324. His death, 326.
- Palæologus, Michael*, emperor of Nice, his brief replies to the negociations of Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople, xi. 99. His family and character, 126. His elevation to the throne, 129. His return to Constantinople, 134. Blinds and banishes his young associate John Lascaris, 135. He is excommunicated by the patriarch Arsenius, 137. Associates his son Andronicus in the empire, 140. His union with the Latin church, 141. Instigates the revolt of Sicily, 150.
- Palatines*, and Borderers, origin and nature of these distinctions in the Roman troops, iii. 44.
- Palermo*, taken by Belisarius by stratagem, vii. 181.
- Palestine*, a character of, i. 32.
- Palladium*, of Rome, described, v. 79.
- Palladius*, the notary, sent by Valentinian to Africa, to inquire into the government of count Romanus, connives with him in oppressing the province, iv. 241.
- Palmyra*, description of, and its destruction by the emperor Aurelian, ii. 33.
- Panætius* was the first teacher of the Stoic philosophy at Rome, viii. 21.
- Pandects*, of Justinian, how formed, viii. 28.
- Panhypersebastos*, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 23.
- Pannonia* described, i. 29.

I N D E X.

- Pantheon*, at Rome, by whom erected, i. 57. Is converted into a Christian church, v. 91.
- Pantomimes*, Roman described, v. 234.
- Paper*, where and when the manufacture of, was first found out, ix. 222.
- Papinian*, the celebrated lawyer, created prætorian præfect, by the emperor Severus, i. 165. His death, 178.
- Papirius*, *Caius*, reasons for concluding that he could not be the author of the *Jus Papirianum*, viii. 4.
- Papists*, proportion their number bore to that of the Protestants in England, at the beginning of the last century, iii. 371.
- Para*, king of Armenia, his history, iv. 254. Is treacherously killed by the Romans, 257.
- Parabolani* of Alexandria, account of, viii. 231.
- Paradise*, Mahomet's, described, ix. 136.
- Paris*, description of that city, under the government of Julian, iii. 187. Situation of his palace, iv. 9.
- Parthia*, subdued by Artaxerxes king of Persia, i. 271. Its constitution of government similar to the feudal system of Europe, 272. Recapitulation of the war with Rome, 273.
- Paschal* II. pope, his troublesome pontificate, xii. 74.
- Pastoral* manners, much better adapted to the fierceness of war, than to peaceful innocence, iv. 276.
- Paternal*, authority, extent of, by the Roman laws, viii. 39. Successive limitations of, 40.
- Patras*, extraordinary deliverance of, from the Sclavonians, and Saracens, x. 11.
- Patricians*, the order of, under the Roman republic, and under the emperors, compared, iii. 27. Under the Greek empire, their rank explained, ix. 35.
- Patrick*, the tutelar saint of Ireland, derivation of his name, vi. 187.
- Pavia*, massacre of the friends of Stilicho there, by the instigations of Olympius, v. 200. Is taken by Alboin king of the Lombards, who fixes his residence there, viii. 102.

I N D E X.

- Paul* of Samofata, bishop of Antioch, his character and history, ii. 372.
- Paul*, archbishop of Constantinople, his fatal contest with his competitor Macedonius, iii. 311.
- Paula*, a Roman widow, her illustrious descent, v. 214. Was owner of the city of Nicopolis, 218. Her monastic zeal, vi. 199.
- Paulicians*, origin and character of, x. 63. Are persecuted by the Greek emperors, 68. They revolt, 71. They are reduced, and transplanted to Thrace, 74. Their present state, 77.
- Paulina*, wife of the tyrant Maximin, softens his ferocity by gentle counsels, i. 230.
- Paulinus*, master of the offices to Theodosius the younger, his crime, and execution, v. 346.
- Paulinus*, bishop of Nola, his history, v. 266.
- Paulinus*, patriarch of Aquileia, flies from the Lombards with his treasure, into the island of Grado, viii. 102.
- Pegasians*, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, viii. 24.
- Pekin*, the city of, taken by Zingis the Mogul emperor, xi. 205.
- Pelagian*, controversy agitated by the Latin clergy, v. 187. And in Britain, 301.
- Pella*, the church of the Nazarenes settled there on the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 230.
- Peloponnesus*, state of under the Greek empire, x. 10. Manufactures, 13.
- Penal*, laws of Rome, the abolition, and revival of, viii. 73.
- Pendragon*, his office and power in Britain, v. 301.
- Penitentials*, of the Greek and Latin churches, history of, x. 252.
- Pepin*, king of France, assists the pope of Rome against the Lombards, ix. 31. Receives the title of king by papal sanction, 34. Grants the exarchate to the pope, 37.

I N D E X .

Pepin, John, count of Minorbino, reduces the tribune Rienzi, and restores aristocracy and church-government at Rome, xii. 146.

Pepper, its high estimation and price at Rome, v. 242.

Perennis, minister of the emperor Commodus, his great exaltation and downfall, i. 116.

Perisabor, a city of Assyria, reduced and burned by the emperor Julian, iv. 134.

Perozes, king of Persia, his fatal expedition against the Nephthalites, vii. 113.

Persecutions, ten, of the primitive Christians, a review of, ii. 364.

Perseus, amount of the treasures taken from that prince, i. 211.

Persia, the monarchy of, restored by Artaxerxes, i. 262.

The religion of the magi reformed, 263. Abridgment of the Persian theology, 264. Simplicity of their worship, 266. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 267. Every other mode of worship prohibited but that of Zoroaster, 270. Extent and population of the country, 272. Its military power, 281. Account of the audience given by the emperor Carus to the ambassadors of Varanes, ii. 79. The throne of, disputed by the brothers Narses and Hormuz, 118. Galerius defeated by the Persians, 119. Narses overthrown in his turn by Gallorius, 121. Articles of peace agreed on between the Persians and the Romans, 126. War between Sapor king of, and the emperor Constantius, iii. 107. Battle of Singara, 108. Sapor invades Mesopotamia. 160. The Persian territories invaded by the emperor Julian, iv. 127. Passage of the Tigris, 144. Julian harassed in his retreat, 155. Treaty of peace between Sapor and the emperor Jovian, 168. Reduction of Armenia, and death of Sapor, 250. The silk trade, how carried on from China through Persia; for the supply of the Roman empire, vii. 77. Death of Perozes, in an expedition against the white Huns, 113. Review of the reigns of

I N D E X.

- Cabades, and his son Chosroes, 258. Anarchy of, after the death of Chosroes II. viii. 212. Ecclesiastical history of, 279. Invasion of, by the caliph Abubeker, ix. 209. Battle of Cadesia, 210. Sack of Ctesiphon, 213. Conquest of, by the Saracens, 217. The magian religion supplanted by Mahometism, 315. The power of the Arabs crushed by the dynasty of the Bowides, 391. Persia subdued by the Turks, x. 205. Conquest of, by the Moguls, xi. 212. By Tamerlane, 256.
- Pertinax*, his character, and exaltation to the Imperial throne, i. 128. His funeral and apotheosis, 153.
- Pescennius*, Niger, governor of Syria, assumes the Imperial dignity on the death of Pertinax, i. 146.
- Petavius*, character of his *Dogmata Theologica*, viii. 216.
- Peter*, brother of the Eastern emperor Maurice, his injurious treatment of the citizens of Azimuntium, and flight from thence, viii. 167.
- Peter I.* czar of Russia, his conduct toward his son, contrasted with that of Constantine the Great, iii. 84.
- Peter* of Arragon, assumes the kingdom of Sicily, xi. 152.
- Peter* Bartholemy, his miraculous discovery of the Holy Lance, x. 299. His strange death, 302.
- Peter* of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, xi. 85.
- Peter* the hermit, his character and scheme to recover the Holy Land from the infidels, x. 241. Leads the first crusaders, 260. Failure of his zeal, 298.
- Petra*, the city of, taken by the Persians, vii. 286. Is besieged by the Romans, 287. Is demolished, 290.
- Petrarch*, his studies and literary character, x. 351. And history, xii. 120. His account of the ruin of the ancient buildings of Rome, 195.
- Pfeffel*, character of his history of Germany, ix. 83.
- Phalanx*, Grecian, compared with the Roman legion, i. 17.

I N D E X.

- Pbaramond*, the actions, and foundation of the French monarchy by him, of doubtful authority, v. 294.
- Pbaras* commands the Heruli, in the African war, under Belifarius, vii. 138. Pursues Gelimer, 161. His letter to Gelimer, 162.
- Pbarisees*, account of that sect among the Jews, ii. 246.
- Pbasis*, river, its course described, vii. 277.
- Pbeasant*, derivation of the name of that bird, vii. 278.
- Pbilelphus*, Francis, his character of the Greek language of Constantinople, xi. 347.
- Philip* I. of France, his limited dignity and power, x. 246.
- Philip* Augustus of France engages in the third crusade, x. 358.
- Philip*, prætorian præfect under the third Gordian, raised to the empire on his death, i. 255. Was a favourer of the Christians, ii. 370.
- Philip*, prætorian præfect of Constantinople, conveys the bishop Paul into banishment clandestinely, iii. 312.
- Philippicus*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 332.
- Philippopolis*, taken and sacked by the Goths, i. 328.
- Philo*, a character of his works, iii. 250.
- Philosophy*, Grecian, review of the various sects of, i. 39.
- Phineus*, the situation of his palace, iii. 5.
- Phocæa*, is settled by Genoese, who trade in allum, xi. 294.
- Phocas*, a centurion, is chosen emperor by the disaffected troops of the Eastern empire, viii. 171. Murders the emperor Maurice, and his children, 174. His character, 176. His fall, and death, 178.
- Phanicia* described, i. 32.
- Photius*, the son of Antonina, distinguishes himself at the siege of Naples, vii. 225. Is exiled, 227.

I N D E X.

- Betrays his mother's vices to Belisarius, 228. Turns monk, 230.
- Photius*, the patrician, kills himself to escape the persecution of Justinian, viii. 266.
- Photius*, patriarch of Constantinople, character of his library, x. 54. His quarrel with the pope of Rome, xi. 5.
- Pbranza George*, the Greek historian, some account of xi. 325. His embassies, 399. His fate on the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, xii. 47.
- Picardy*, derivation of the name of that province, x. 241.
- Pilate*, *Pontius*, his testimony in favour of Jesus Christ, much improved by the primitive fathers, ii. 365.
- Pilpay's* fables, history and character of, vii. 265.
- Pinna*, marina, a kind of silk manufactured from the threads spun by this fish, by the Romans, vii. 76.
- Pipa*, a princefs of the Marcomanni, espoused by the emperor Gallienus, i. 345.
- Piso*, Calphurnius, one of the competitors against Gallienus, his illustrious family and character, i. 367.
- Pityus*, the city of, destroyed by the Goths, i. 348.
- Placidia*, daughter of Theodosius the Great, her history, and marriage with Adolphus king of the Goths, v. 272. Is injuriously treated by the usurper Singeric, after the death of her husband, 290. Her marriage with Constantius, and retreat to Constantinople, vi. 2. Her administration in the West, as guardian of her son the emperor Valentinian III. 7. History of her daughter Honoria, 84. Her death and burial, 112.
- Plague*, origin and nature of this disease, vii. 365. Great extent, and long duration of that in the reign of Justinian, 369.
- Plato*, his theological system, iii. 248. Is received by the Alexandrian Jews, 249. And expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 250. The theological system of the emperor Julian, iv. 58.

I N D E X

- *Platonic* philosophy introduced into Italy, xi. 361.
- Platonists*, new, an account of ii. 151. Unite with the heathen priests to oppose the Christians, 378.
- Plautianus*, prætorian præfect under the emperor Severus, his history, i. 165.
- Plebeians*, of Rome, state and character of, v. 229.
- Pliny*, the younger, examination of his conduct toward the Christians, ii. 342.
- Poet*, laureat, a ridiculous appointment, xii. 121.
- Poggius*, his reflections on the ruin of ancient Rome, xii. 178.
- Poitiers*, battle of, between Clovis king of the Franks, and Alaric king of the Goths, vi. 266.
- Pollentia*, battle of, between Stilicho the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, v. 164.
- Polytheism*, of the Romans, its origin, and effects, i. 38. How accounted for by the primitive Christians, ii. 237. Scepticism of the people at the time of the publication of Christianity, 293. The Christians, why more odious to the Pagans than the Jews, 319. The ruin of, suspended by the divisions among Christians, iii. 325. Theological system of the emperor Julian, iv. 58. Review of the Pagan ecclesiastical establishment, v. 79. Revival of, by the Christian monks, 109.
- Pompeianus*, præfect of Rome, proposes to drive Alaric from the walls by spells, v. 240.
- Pompeianus*, *Ruricius*, general under Maxentius, defeated and killed by Constantine the Great, ii. 187.
- Pompey*, his discretionary exercise of power during his command in the East, i. 83. Increase of the tributes of Asia by his conquests, 212.
- Pontiffs*, Pagan, their jurisdiction, v. 79.
- Pontifex Maximus*, in Pagan Rome, by whom that office was exercised, iii. 222.
- Popes*, of Rome, the growth of their power, ix. 16. Revolt of from the Greek emperors, 22. Origin of their temporal dominion, 37. Publication of the Decretals, and of the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, 40. Authority of the German emperors in

I N D E X.

- their election, 67. Violent distractions in their election, 69. Foundation of their authority at Rome, xii. 68. Their mode of election settled, 101. Schism in the papacy, 157. They acquire the absolute, dominion of Rome, 172. The ecclesiastical government, 175.
- Population*, of Rome, a computation of, v. 235.
- Porcario*, *Stephen*, his conspiracy at Rome, vi. 610.
- Posthumus*, the Roman general under the emperor Gallienus, defends Gaul against the incursions of the Franks, i. 340. Is killed by his mutinous troops, ii. 25.
- Power*, absolute, the exercise of, how checked, x. 36.
- Praefect*, of the sacred bed-chamber, under Constantine the Great, his office, iii. 51.
- Praefects*, of Rome and Constantinople, under the emperors, the nature of their offices, iii. 33. The office revived at Rome, xii. 86.
- Prætextatus*, præfect of Rome under Valentinian, his character, iv. 220.
- Prætorian*, bands, in the Roman army, an account of, i. 138. They sell the empire of Rome by public auction, 140. Are disgraced by the emperor Severus, 152. A new establishment of them, 164. Authority of the prætorian præfect, 165. Are reduced, their privileges abolished, and their place supplied, by the Jovians and Herculeans, ii. 133. Their desperate courage under Maxentius, 191. Are totally suppressed by Constantine the Great, 193.
- Prætorian* præfect, revolutions of this office under the emperors, iii. 29. Their functions when it became a civil office, 33.
- Prætors*, of Rome, the nature and tendency of their edicts explained, viii. 9.
- Preaching*, a form of devotion unknown in the temples of Paganism, iii. 236. Use, and abuse of, 237.
- Predestination*, influence of the doctrine of, on the Saracens and Turks, ix. 151.

I N D E X.

- Presbyters*, among the primitive Christians, the office explained, ii. 273.
- Prestor, John*, origin of the romantic stories concerning, viii. 283.
- Priests*, no distinct order of men among the ancient Pagans, ii. 292. iii. 223.
- Priestley, Dr.* the ultimate tendency of his opinions, pointed out, x. 84.
- Primogeniture*, the prerogative of, unknown to the Roman law, viii. 57.
- Prince*, of the waters, in Persia, his office, vii. 263.
- Priscillian*, bishop of Avila in Spain, is, with his followers, put to death for heresy, v. 28.
- Priscus*, the historian, his conversation with a captive Greek, in the camp of Attila, vi. 84. His character, 346.
- Priscus*, the Greek general, his successes against the Avars, viii. 168.
- Proba*, widow of the præfect Petronius, her flight from the sack of Rome by Alaric, v. 263.
- Probus*, assumes the Imperial dignity in opposition to Florianus, ii. 59. His character and history, 60.
- Probus*, prætorian præfect of Illyricum, preserves Sirmium from the Quadi, iv. 266.
- Probus, Sicorius*, his embassy from the emperor Diocletian to Narses king of Persia, ii. 124.
- Procida, John* of, instigates the revolt of Sicily from John of Anjou, xi. 152.
- Proclus*, story of his extraordinary brazen mirror, vii. 94.
- Proclus*, the platonic philosopher of Athens, his superstition, vii. 124.
- Proconsuls* of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, their office, iii. 35.
- Procopia*, wife of the Greek emperor Michael I. her martial inclinations, viii. 345.
- Procopius*, his history, and revolt against Valens; emperor of the East, iv. 194. Is reduced, and put to death, 200. His account of the testament of the emperor Arcadius, v. 336. His account of Britain, vi. 317.

I N D E X.

- Character of his histories, vii. 50. Accepts the office of secretary under Belisarius, 135. His defence of the Roman archers, 139. His account of the desolation of the African province by war, 308.
- Proculians*, origin of the sect of, in the Roman civil law, viii. 23.
- Proculus*, his extraordinary character, and his rebellion against Probus in Gaul, ii. 73.
- Prodigies*, in ancient history, a philosophical resolution of, iii. 210.
- Promises*, under what circumstances the Roman law enforced the fulfilment of, viii. 64.
- Promotus*, master-general of the infantry under Theodosius, is ruined by the enmity of Rufinus, v. 117.
- Property*, personal, the origin of, viii. 54. How ascertained by the Roman laws, 55. Testamentary dispositions of, how introduced, 60.
- Prophets*, their office among the primitive Christians, ii. 272.
- Proprotis*, described, iii. 7.
- Proterias*, patriarch of Alexandria, his martial episcopacy, and violent death, viii. 256.
- Protestants*, their resistance of oppression, not consistent with the practice of the primitive Christians, iii. 199. Proportion of their number, to that of the Catholics, in France, at the beginning of the last century, 371. Estimate of their reformation of Popery, x. 81.
- Protophastor*, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 23.
- Proverbs*, the book of, why not likely to be the production of king Solomon, vii. 165.
- Provinces*, of the Roman empire, described, i. 24. Distinction between Latin and Greek provinces, 49. Account of the tributes received from, 211. Their number and government after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, iii. 36.
- Prusa*, conquest of, by the Ottomans, xi. 228.
- Prussia*, emigration of the Goths to, i. 323.

I N D E X.

Pulcheria, sister of the emperor Theodosius the younger, her character and administration, v. 339. Her lessons to her brother, 341. Her contests with the empress Eudocia, 346. Is proclaimed empress of the East, on the death of Theodosius, vi. 70. Her death and canonization 155.

Purple, the royal colour of, among the ancients, far surpassed by the modern discovery of cochineal, vii. 74.

Pygmies of Africa, ancient fabulous account of, iv. 249.

Q

Quadi, the inroads of, punished by the emperor Constantius, iii. 153. Revenge the treacherous murder of their king Gabinius, iv. 266.

Quæstor, historical review of this office, iii. 53.

Question, criminal, how exercised under the Roman emperors, iii. 59.

Quintilian brothers, Maximus and Condianus, their history, i. 116.

Quintilius, brother of the emperor Claudius, his ineffectual effort to succeed him, ii. 13.

Quintus Curtius, an attempt to decide the age in which he wrote, i. 414.

Quirites, the effect of that word when opposed to *Soldiers*, i. 408.

R

Radagaisus, king of the Goths, his formidable invasion of Italy, v. 177. His savage character, 180. Is reduced by Stilicho, and put to death, 182.

Radiger, king of the Varni, compelled to fulfil his matrimonial obligations by a British heroine, vi. 318.

Ramadan, the month of, how observed by the Turks, ix. 132.

Rando, a chieftain of the Alemanni, his unprovoked attack of Moguntiacum, iv. 226.

I N D E X.

- Ravenna*, the ancient city of, described, v. 172. The emperor Honorius fixes his residence there, 174. Invasion of, by a Greek fleet, ix. 23. Is taken by the Lombards, and recovered by the Venetians, 29. Final conquest of, by the Lombards, *ib.* The exarchate of, bestowed by Pepin on the pope, 38.
- Raymond*, of Tholouse, the crusader, his character, x. 266. His route to Constantinople, 273. His bold behaviour there, 280.
- Raymond*, count of Tripoli, betrays Jerusalem into the hands of Saladin, x. 349.
- Raynal*, Abbé, mistaken in asserting that Constantine the Great suppressed Pagan worship, iii. 321.
- Rebels*, who the most inveterate of, x. 71.
- Recared*, the first Catholic king of Spain, converts his Gothic subjects, vi. 238.
- Reformation*, from popery, the amount of, estimated, x. 80. A secret reformation still working in the reformed churches, 83.
- Rein-deer*, this animal driven northward by the improvement of climate from cultivation, i. 285.
- Relics*, the worship of, introduced by the monks, v. 103. A valuable cargo of, imported from Constantinople by Louis IX. of France, xi. 96.
- Remigius*, bishop of Rheims, converts Clovis king of the Franks, vi. 253.
- Repentance*, its high esteem, and extensive operation, among the primitive Christians, ii. 260.
- Resurrection*, general, the Mahometan doctrine of, ix. 134.
- Retiarius*, the mode of his combat with the secutor, in the Roman amphitheatre, i. 125.
- Revenues*, of the primitive church, how distributed, ii. 248. iii. 232. Of the Roman empire, when removed to Constantinople, a review of, iii. 61.
- Rbateum*, city of, its situation, iii. 9.
- Rbatia*, described, i. 28.

I N D E X

- Rbazates*, the Persian general, defeated and killed by the emperor Heraclius, viii. 207.
- Rhetoric*, the study of, congenial to a popular state, vii. 120.
- Rhine*, the banks of, fortified by the emperor Valentinian, iv. 227.
- Rhodes*, account of the colossus of, ix. 262. The knights of, xi. 231.
- Richard I.* of England, engages in the third crusade, x. 358. Bestows the island of Cyprus on the house of Lusignan, xi. 13. His reply to the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, 18.
- Richard*, monk of Cirencester, his literary character, v. 414.
- Ricimer*, count, his history, vi. 135. Permits Majorian to assume the Imperial dignity in the Western empire, 138. Enjoys supreme power under cover of the name of the emperor Libius Severus, 150. Marries the daughter of the emperor Anthemius, 159. Sacks Rome, and kills Anthemius, 177. His death, 178.
- Rienzi*, Nicholas di, his birth, character, and history, xii. 124.
- Roads*, Roman, the construction and great extent of, i. 66.
- Robert*, of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, xi. 87.
- Robert*, count of Flanders, his character and engagement in the first crusade, x. 265.
- Robert*, duke of Normandy, his character and engagement in the first crusade, x. 265. Recalled by the censures of the church, 298.
- Roderic*, the Gothic king of Spain, his defeat and death by Tarik the Arab, ix. 299.
- Rodogune*, probable origin of her character, in Rowe's Royal convert, vi. 318.
- Roger*, count of Sicily, his exploits, and conquest of that island, x. 155.
- Roger*, son of the former, the first king of Sicily, x. 177. His military achievements in Africa and Greece, 179.
- Roger*

I N D E X.

Roger, de Flor, engages as an auxiliary in the service of the Greek emperor Andronicus, xi. 154. His assassination, 157.

Romanus I. Lecapenus, emperor of Constantinople, viii.
369.

Romanus II. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 371.

Romanus III. Argyrus, emperor of Constantinople, viii.
380.

Romanus IV. Diogenes, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 389. Is defeated and taken prisoner by the Turkish sultan Alp Arslan, x. 215. His treatment, deliverance, and death, 217.

Romanus, count, governor of Africa, his corrupt administration, iv. 241.

Romanus, governor of Bosra, betrays it to the Saracens,
ix. 227.

Rome, the three periods of its decline pointed out, 1. *Preface*. Its prosperous circumstances in the second century, 2. The principal conquests of, achieved under the republic, *ib.* Conquests under the emperors, 4. Military establishment of the emperors, 11. Naval force of the empire, 22. View of the provinces of the empire, 24. Its general extent, 35. The union and internal prosperity of the empire, in the age of the Antonines, accounted for, 37. Treatment of the provinces, 46. Benefits included in the freedom of the city, 48. Distinction between the Latin and Greek provinces, 49. Prevalence of the Greek, as a scientific language, 51. Numbers and condition of the Roman slaves, 52. Populousness of the empire, 55. Unity and power of the government, 56. Monuments of Roman architecture, 57. The Roman magnificence chiefly displayed in public buildings, 61. Principal cities in the empire, 63. Public roads, 66. Great improvements of agriculture in the Western countries of the empire, 68. Arts of luxury, 70. Commerce with the East, 71. Contemporary representation of the prosperity of the empire, 74. Decline of courage and genius, *ib.* A

VOL. XII.

 γ

I N D E X.

review of public affairs after the battle of Actium, 78. The Imperial power and dignity confirmed to Augustus by the senate, 81. The various characters and powers vested in the emperor, 85. General idea of the Imperial system, 90. Abortive attempt of the senate to resume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 95. The emperors associate their intended successors to power, 97. The most happy period in the Roman history pointed out, 104. Their peculiar misery under their tyrants, 105. The empire publicly sold by auction by the prætorian guards, 140. Civil wars of the Romans, how generally decided, 158. When the army first received regular pay, 210. How the citizens were relieved from taxation, 211. General estimate of the Roman revenue from the provinces, 214. Miseries flowing from the succession to the empire being elective, 223. A summary review of the Roman history, 258. Recapitulation of the war with Parthia, 273. Invasion of the provinces by the Goths, 326. The office of censor revived by the emperor Decius, 329. Peace purchased of the Goths, 334. The emperor Valerian taken prisoner by Sapor king of Persia, 359. The popular conceit of the thirty tyrants of Rome investigated, 365. Famine and pestilence throughout the empire, 374. The city fortified against the inroads of the Alemanni, ii. 24. Remarks on the alleged sedition of the officers of the mint under Aurelian, 42. Observations on the peaceful interregnum after the death of Aurelian, 49. Colonies of Barbarians introduced into the provinces by Probus, 69. Exhibition of the public games by Carinus, 84. Treaty of peace between the Persians and the Romans, 126. The last triumph celebrated at Rome, 128. How the Imperial courts came to be transferred to Milan and Nicomedia, 130. The prætorian bands superseded by the Jovian and Herculean guards, 133. The power of the senate annihilated, 134. Four divisions of the empire under

I N D E X.

four conjunct princes, 138. Their expensive establishments call for more burdensome taxes, 139. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the empire, 141. Six emperors existing at one time, 172. The senate and people apply to Constantine to deliver them from the tyranny of Maxentius, 181. Constantine enters the city victorious, 192. Laws of Constantine, 206. Constantine remains sole emperor, 218. History of the progress and establishment of Christianity, 219. Pretensions of the bishop of Rome, whence deduced, 279. State of the church at Rome at the time of the persecution by Nero, 300. Narrative of the fire of Rome, in the reign of Nero, 332. The Christians persecuted as the incendiaries, 333. The memorable edicts of Diocletian and his associates against the Christians, 382. Account of the building and establishment of the rival city of Constantinople, iii. 4. New forms of administration established there, 21. Division of the empire among the sons of Constantine, 102. Establishment of Christianity as the national religion, 221. Tumults excited by the rival bishops, Liberius and Fælix, 308. Paganism restored by Julian, iv. 69. And Christianity by Jovian, 182. The empire divided into the *East* and *West*, by the emperor Valentinian, 193. Civil institutions of Valentinian, 207. The crafty avarice of the clergy restrained by Valentinian, 216. Bloody contest of Damasus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome, 220. Great earthquake, 273. The emperor Theodosius visits the city, v. 47. Inquiry into the cause of the corruption of morals in his reign, 74. Review of the Pagan establishment, 79. The Pagan religion renounced by the senate, 85. Sacrifices prohibited, 87. The Pagan religion prohibited, 98. Triumph of Honorius and Stilicho, over Alaric the Goth, 169. Alaric encamps under the walls of the city, 212. Retrospect of the state of the city when besieged by Hannibal, 213. Wealth of the nobles, and magnificence of the city, 217. Character of the nobles

I N D E X.

of, by Ammianus Marcellinus, 220. State and character of the common people, 229. Public distributions of bread, etc. 230. Public baths, 232. Games and spectacles, 233. Attempts to ascertain the population of the city, 235. The citizens suffer by famine, 238. Plague, 239. The retreat of Alaric purchased by a ransom, 240. Is again besieged by Alaric, 249. The senate unites with him in electing Attalus emperor, 250. The city seized by Alaric, and plundered, 254. Comparison between this event, and the sack of Rome by the emperor Charles V. 264. Alaric quits Rome, and ravages Italy, 266. Laws passed for the relief of Rome, and Italy, 275. Triumph of Honorius for the reduction of Spain by Wallia, 293. Is preserved from the hands of Attila by a ransom, vi. 107. Indications of the ruin of the empire, at the death of Valentinian III. 116. Sack of the city by Genferic king of the Vandals, 123. The public buildings of, protected from depredation by the laws of Majorian, 142. Is sacked again by the patrician Ricimer, 177. Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, 181. The decay of the Roman spirit remarked, 188. History of monastic institutions in; 196. General observations on the history of the Roman empire, 321. Italy conquered by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, vii. 11. Prosperity of the city under his government, 24. Account of the four factions in the circus, 62. First introduction of silk among the Romans, 74. The office of consul suppressed by Justinian, 126. The city receives Belisarius, 191. Siege of, by the Goths, 192. Distressful siege of, by Totila the Goth, 317. Is taken, 321. Is recovered by Belisarius, 324. Is again taken by Totila, 329. Is taken by the eunuch Narses, 339. Extinction of the senate, 341. The city degraded to the second rank under the exarchs of Ravenna, 350. A review of the Roman laws, viii. 1. Extent of the duchy of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, 119. Miserable state of the city, 129. Pontificate of Gregory, the Great, 134.

I N D E X.

The government of the city new modelled under the popes, after their revolt from the Greek emperors, ix. 25. Is attacked by the Lombards, and delivered by King Pepin, 29. The office and rank of exarchs and patricians explained, 35. Reception of Charlemagne by pope Adrian I. 36. Origin of the temporal power of the popes, 37. Mode of electing a pope, 68. Is menaced by the Saracens, 371. Prosperous pontificate of Leo IV. 373. Is besieged and taken by the emperor Henri III. x. 172. Great part of the city burnt by Robert Guiscard, in the cause of pope Gregory VII. 173. The history of, resumed, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, xii. 65. French and German emperors of, 66. Authority of the popes, 68. Restoration of the republican form of government, 83. Office of senator, 88. Wars against the neighbouring cities, 98. Institution of the Jubilee, 109. Revolution in the city, by the tribune Rienzi, 124. Calamities flowing from the schism of the papacy, 159. Statutes and government of the city, 166. Porcaro's conspiracy, 169. The ecclesiastical government of, 175. Reflections of Poggius on the ruin of the city, 178. Four principal causes of its ruin specified, 182. The Coliseum of Titus, 196. Restoration and ornaments of the city, 203.

Romilda, the betrayer of Friuli to the Avars, her cruel treatment by them, viii. 189.

Rosamond, daughter of Cunimund king of the Gepidæ, her marriage with Alboin king of the Lombards, viii. 94. Conspires his murder, 103. Her flight and death, 105.

Roum, the Seljukian kingdom of, formed, x. 230.

Rudbeck, Olaus, summary abridgment of the argument in his *Atlantica*, i. 288.

Rufinus, the confidential minister of the emperor Theodosius the Great, stimulates his cruelty against Theſſalonica, v. 57. His character and administration, 116. His death, 129.

I N D E X

- Rugilas* the Hun, his settlement in Hungary, vi. 31.
Runic characters, the antiquity of, traced, i. 289.
Russia, origin of the monarchy of, x. 105. Geography and trade of, 108. Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople, 111. Reign of the czar Swatoslaus, 116. The Russians converted to Christianity, 120. Is conquered by the Moguls, xi. 215.
Rustan, a Persian nobleman, a saying of his, expressive of the danger of living under despots, i. 106.
Rutilius, his character of the monks of Capraria, v. 140.

S

- Sabellius*, the heresiarch, his opinions afterward adopted by his antagonists, iii. 257. His doctrine of the Trinity, 260. The Sabellians unite with the Tritheists at the council of Nice to overpower the Arians, 262.
Sabians, their astronomical mythology, ix. 112.
Sabinian, obtains the command of the Eastern provinces from Constantius, iii. 166.
Sabinian, general of the East, is defeated by Theodoric the Ostrogoth king of Italy, vii. 20.
Sabinians, origin of the sect of, in the Roman civil law, viii. 23.
Sadducees, account of that sect among the Jews, ii. 246.
Saladin, his birth, promotion, and character, x. 344. Conquers the kingdom of Jerusalem, 351. His ineffectual siege of Tyre, 354. Siege of Acre, 356. His negotiations with Richard I. of England, 361. His death, 363.
Salerno, account of the medical school of, x. 153.
Salic laws, history of, vi. 272.
Sallust, the præfect, and friend of the emperor Julian, declines the offer of the diadem on his death, iv. 164. Declines it again, on the death of Jovian, 188. Is retained in his employment by the emperor Valentinian, 183.

I N D E X.

Sallust, the historian, by what funds he raised his palace on the Quirinal hill, v. 261.

Salona, the retreat of the emperor Diocletian, described, ii. 146.

Salvian, his account of the distress and rebellion of the Bagaudæ, vi. 160.

Samanides, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 389.

Samaritans, persecution and extinction of, by the emperor Justinian, viii. 267.

Samuel the prophet, his ashes conveyed to Constantinople, v. 105.

Sapor, king of Persia, procures the assassination of Chosroes king of Armenia, and seizes the country, i. 357.

Defeats the emperor Valerian, and takes him prisoner, 359. Sets up Cyriades as successor to Valerian in the Roman empire, 360. Over-runs Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, *ibid.* His death, ii. 35.

Sapor, the son of Hormouz, is crowned king of Persia before his birth, iii. 103. His character and early heroism, 104. Harasses the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, 107. Battle of Singara, against the emperor Constantius, *ib.* His son brutally killed by Constantius, 109. His several attempts on Nisibis, *ib.* Concludes a truce with Constantius, 112. His haughty propositions to Constantius, 158. Invades Mesopotamia, 160. Reduces Amida, 162. Returns home, 165. His peaceful overtures to the emperor Julian, iv. 112. His consternation at the successes of Julian, 148. Harasses the retreat of the Romans, 155. His treaty with the emperor Jovian, 168. His reduction of Armenia, and death, 251.

Saracen, various definitions of that appellation, ix. 99.

Saracens, successions of the caliphs of, ix. 180. Their rapid conquests, 208. Conquest of Persia, 217. Siege of Damascus, 227. Battle of Yermuck, and conquest of Syria, 246. Of Egypt, 262. Invasions of Africa, 280. Their military character, x. 43.

I N D E X.

- Sarbar*, the Persian general, joins the Avars in besieging Constantinople, viii. 202. Revolts to the emperor Heraclius, 206.
- Sardinia*, expulsion of the Vandals from, by Marcellinus, vi. 163. Is conquered by Zano, the brother of Gelimer king of the Vandals, vii. 153. Is surrendered to Belisarius, 158.
- Sarmatians*, memorable defeat of, by the emperor Carus, ii. 78. Their manners described, iii. 90. Brief history of, 92. They apply to Constantine the Great for assistance against the Goths, 93. Are expelled their country by the Limigantes, 96. Are restored by Constantius, 157.
- Savage manners*, a brief view of, i. 293. Are more uniform than those of civilised nations, iv. 276.
- Sarus* the Goth plunders the camp of Stilicho, and drives him into the hands of the emperor at Ravenna, v. 201. Insults Alaric, and occasions the sacking of Rome, 255. Is killed by Adolphus king of the Visigoths, 285.
- Saturninus*, one of the competitors for empire against Gallienus, his observation on his investiture, i. 368.
- Saturninus*, lieutenant under the emperor Probus, in the East, is driven into rebellion by his troops, ii. 72.
- Saxons*, ancient, an account of, iv. 230. Their piratical confederations, 231. Their invasions of Gaul checked by the Romans, 232. How converted to Christianity, vi. 217. Descent of the Saxons on Britain, 300. Their brutal desolation of the country, 310.
- Scanderbeg*, prince of Albania, his history, xi. 391.
- Scatinian law* of the Romans, account of, viii. 78.
- Scaurus*, the patrician family of, how reduced under the emperors, iii. 28.
- Schism* in religion, the origin of, traced, ii. 235.
- Science* reducible to four classes, ix. 358.
- Sclavonians*, their national character, vii. 241. Their barbarous inroads on the Eastern empire, 245. Of Dalmatia, account of, x. 88.

I N D E X.

- Scots*, and *Picts*, the nations of, how distinguished, iv. 235. Invasions of Britain by, 237.
- Scythians*, this name vaguely applied to mixed tribes of barbarians, i. 356. Their pastoral manners, iv. 275. Extent and boundaries of Scythia, 288. Revolutions of, v. 174. Their mode of war, vi. 43.
- Sebastian*, master-general of the infantry under the emperor Valens, his successful expedition against the Goths, iv. 329. Is killed in the battle of Hadrianople, 335.
- Sebastian*, the brother of the usurper Jovinus, is associated with him in his assumed Imperial dignities, v. 285.
- Sebastocrator*, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 23.
- Sees*, in Normandy, the bishop, and chapter of, all castrated, xii. 73.
- Segestan*, the princes of, support their independency obstinately against Artaxerxes, i. 272.
- Segued*, emperor of Abyssinia, is with his whole court, converted by the Jesuits, viii. 306.
- Selden*, his sententious character of transubstantiation, ix. 2.
- Seleucia*, the great city of, ruined by the Romans, i. 274.
- Seleucus*, *Nicator*, number of cities founded by him, i. 272.
- Seljuk*, Turkish dynasty of the house of, x. 205. Division of their empire, 226.
- Serjeant*, legal and military. import of that term, xi. 37.
- Severus*, *Septimius*, general of the Pannonian legions, assumes the purple on the death of Pertinax, i. 148. His conduct toward the Christians, ii. 367.
- Senate*, of Rome is reformed by Augustus, ii. 79. Its legislative and judicial powers, 89. Abortive attempt of, to resume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 95. Its legal jurisdiction over the emperors, 130. Is subjected to military despotism, by Severus, 165. Women excluded from this assembly by a solemn law, 199. The form of a secret meeting, 236. Measures taken to support the authority of the two Gordians, 237.

I N D E X.

- The senate elect Maximus and Balbinus emperors on the deaths of the Gordians, 239. They drive the Alemanni out of Italy, 343. The senators forbid to exercise military employments by Gallienus, 344. Elect Tacitus, the father of the senate, emperor, ii. 51. Prerogatives gained to the senate, by this election, 55. Their power and authority annihilated by Diocletian, 132. Amount of the coronary gold, or customary free gift to the emperors, iii. 71. The claim of Julian to the empire admitted, iv. 26. Petitions of, to the emperors, for the restoration of the altar of victory, v. 82. The Pagan religion renounced, 85. Debates of, on the proposals of Alaric the Goth, 195. Genealogy of the senators, 214.
- Passes a decree for putting to death Serena the widow of Stilicho, 238. Under the influence of Alaric, elects Attalus emperor, 250. Trial of Arvandus, prætorian præfect of Gaul, vi. 169. Surrenders the sovereign power of Italy to the emperor of the East, 184. Extinction of, that illustrious assembly, vii. 341. Restoration of, in the twelfth century, xii. 83. The assembly resolved into single magistrates, 88. - 166.
 - Serapion*, his lamentation for the loss of a personified deity, viii. 223.
 - Serapis*, history of his worship, and of his temple at Alexandria, v. 91. The temple destroyed, 93.
 - Serena*, niece of the emperor Theodosius, married to his general Stilicho, v. 127. Is cruelly strangled by order of the Roman senate, 238.
 - Severinus*, St. encourages Odoacer to assume the dominion of Italy, vi. 184. His body, how disposed of, 188.
 - Severus*, is declared Cæsar on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, ii. 156. His defeat and death, 165.
 - Severus*, is appointed general of the cavalry in Gaul under Julian, iii. 174.
 - Shepherds*, and warriors, their respective modes of life compared, iv. 276.

I N D E X.

Schiites, a sect of Mahometans, their distinction from the Sonnites, ix. 183.

Siberia, extreme coldness of the climate, and miserable state of the natives of, iv. 290. Is seized and occupied by the Tartars, xi. 218.

Sicily, reflections on the distractions in that island, i. 371. Is conquered by the Saracens, ix. 369. Introduction of the silk manufacture there, x. 15. Exploits of the Normans there, 138. Is conquered by count Roger, 155. Roger, son of the former, made king of, 177. Reign of William the Bad, 189. Reign of William the Good, 190. Conquest of, by the emperor Henry VI. 193. Is subdued by Charles of Anjou, xi. 147. The *Sicilian Vespers*, 151.

Sidonius, Apollinaris, the poet, his humorous treatment of the capitation tax, iii. 67. His character of Theodoric king of the Visigoths in Gaul, vi. 129. His panegyric on the emperor Avitus, 134. His panegyric on the emperor Anthemius, 159.

Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, murders his son, and is canonized, vi. 260. Is overwhelmed by an army of Franks, 261.

Silentiarius, Paul, his account of the various species of stone and marble, employed in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, vii. 100.

Silk, first manufactured in China, and then in the small Grecian island of Ceos, vii. 75. A peculiar kind of silk procured from the pinna marina, 76. The silk worm, how introduced into Greece, 80. Progress of the manufacture of, in the tenth century, x. 13.

Simeon, persecutor of the Paulicians, becomes a profelyte to their opinions, x. 69.

Simeon, king of Bulgaria, his exploits, x. 90.

Simeon, Stylites, the hermit, his extraordinary mode of life, vi. 211.

Simony, an early instance of, ii. 372.

Simplicius, one of the last surviving Pagan philosophers of Athens, his writings, and character, vii. 126.

I N D E X

- Singara*, battle of, between the emperor Constantius, and Sapor king of Persia, iii. 107. The city of, reduced by Sapor, 165. Is yielded to him by Jovian, iv. 169.
- Singeric*, brother of Sarus, is made king of the Goths, v. 299.
- Singidunum* is perfidiously taken by Baian, chagan of the Avars, viii. 163.
- Sirmium*, is perfidiously taken by Baian, chagan of the Avars, viii. 164.
- Siroes*, deposes and murders his father Chosroes II. king of Persia, viii. 211. His treaty of peace with the emperor Heraclius, 212.
- Sisebut*, a Gothic king of Spain, persecutes the Jews there, vi. 242.
- Sixtus V.* pope, character of his administration, xii. 176.
- Slave*, strange perversion of the original sense of that appellation, x. 88.
- Slaves*, among the Romans, who, and their condition described, i. 51.
- Slavery*, personal, imposed on captives by the barbarous nations, vi. 283.
- Sleepers*, seven, narrative of the legendary tale of, vi. 26.
- Smyrna*, capture of, by Tamerlane, xi. 274.
- Society*, philosophical, reflexions on the revolutions of, vi. 332.
- Soffarides*, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 389.
- Soldiers*, Roman, their obligations and discipline, i. 12. When they first received regular pay, 210.
- Soliman*, sultan, conquers Asia Minor, x. 228. Fixes his residence at Nice, 230. Nice taken by the first crusaders, 286. Battle of Dorylæum, 288.
- Soliman*, the son of Bajazet, his character, xi. 291. His alliance with the Greek emperor Manuel Palæologus, 295.
- Solomon*, king of the Jews, not the author of the book which bears the name of his *Wisdom*, iii. 389.

I N D E X

- Reasons for supposing he did not write either the book of *Ecclesiastes* or the *Proverbs*, vii. 165.
- Solomon* the eunuch relieves the Roman province in Africa, from the depredation of the Moors, vii. 169. Revolt of his troops at Carthage, 303. Is defeated and killed by Antalus the Moor, 307.
- Solyman*, caliph of the Saracens, undertakes the siege of Constantinople, ix. 329. His enormous appetite and death, 331.
- Sonnites*, in the Mahometan religion, their tenets, ix. 183.
- Sopator*, a Syrian philosopher, beheaded by Constantine the Great, on a charge of binding the wind by magic, iii. 286.
- Sophia*, the widow of Justin II. her conspiracy against the emperor Tiberius, viii. 111.
- Sophia*, St. foundation of the church of at Constantinople, vii. 96. Its description, 97. Is converted into a mosque, xii. 50.
- Sophian*, the Arab, commands the first siege of Constantinople, ix. 324.
- Sopbronia*, a Roman matron, kills herself to escape the violence of Maxentius, ii. 180.
- Sortes Sanctorum*, a mode of Christian divination, adopted from the Pagans, vi. 265.
- Soul*, uncertain opinions of the ancient philosophers as to the immortality of, ii. 242. This doctrine more generally received among the barbarous nations, and for what reason, 245. Was not taught by Moses, 246. Four different prevailing doctrines as to the origin of, viii. 219.
- Sozopetra*, destroyed by the Greek emperor Theophilus, ix. 377.
- Spain*, the province of, described, i. 24. Great revenues raised from this province by the Romans, 212. Is ravaged by the Franks, 340. Review of the history of, v. 286. Is invaded by the barbarous nations, 287. The invaders conquered by Wallia king of the Goths,

I N D E X.

292. Successes of the Vandals there, vi. 10. Expedition of Theodoric king of the Visigoths into, 132. The Christian religion received there, 235. Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild, 236. Persecution of the Jews in, 240. Legislative assemblies of, 296. Acquisitions of Justinian there, vii. 172. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, ix. 56. First introduction of the Arabs into the country, 295. Defeat and death of Roderic the Gothic king of, 299. Conquest of, by Musa, 304. Its prosperity under the Saracens, 311. The Christian faith there, supplanted by that of Mahomet, 318. The throne of Cordova filled by Abdalrahman, 349.
- Stadium*, Olympic, the races of, compared with those in the Roman circus, vii. 61.
- Stauracius*, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 344.
- Stephen*, a freedman of Domitilla assassinated the emperor Domitian, ii. 342.
- Stephen*, count of Chartres, his character and engagement in the first crusade, x. 266. Deserts his standard, 298.
- Stephen*, St. the first Christian martyr, miraculous discovery of his body, and the miracles worked by it, v. 108.
- Stephen*, the Savage, sent by the Greek emperor Justinian II. to exterminate the Cherfonites, viii. 330.
- Stephen* III. pope, solicits the aid of Pepin king of France, against the Lombards, under the character of St. Peter, ix. 31. Crowns king Pepin, 34.
- Stilicho*, the great general of the Western empire under the emperor Honorius, his character, v. 125. Puts to death Rufinus the tyrannical præfect of the East, 129. His expedition against Alaric in Greece, 153. His diligent endeavours to check his progress in Italy, 160. Defeats Alaric at Pollentia, 164. Drives him out of Italy, 167. His triumph at Rome, 169. His preparations to oppose the invasion of Radagaisus, 178. Reduces and puts him to death, 182. Supports the claims of Alaric in the Roman senate, 195. Is put to death at Ravenna, 199. His memory persecuted, 202.

I N D E X.

Stoza, heads the revolted troops of the emperor Justinian in Africa, vii. 304.

Strasburgh, battle of between Julian and the Alemanni, iii. 175.

Successianus defends the Roman frontier against the Goths, i. 348.

Suevi, the origin and renown of, i. 341.

Suicide, applauded and pitied by the Romans, viii. 85.

Sulpicius, Servius, was the highest improver of the Roman jurisprudence, viii. 18.

Sultan, origin and import of this title of Eastern sovereignty, x. 197.

Sumnat, description of the pagoda of, in Guzarat, and its destruction by Sultan Mahmud, x. 199.

Sun, the worship of, introduced at Rome by the emperor Elagabalus, i. 192. Was the peculiar object of the devotion of Constantine the Great, before his conversion, iii. 193. And of Julian, after his apostacy, iv. 69.

Susa, the city of, taken by Constantine the Great, ii. 185.

Swatoslaus, czar of Russia, his reign, x. 116.

Swift, cantons, the confederacy of, how far similar to that of the ancient Franks, i. 340.

Sword, of Mars, the sacred weapon of the Huns, history of, vi. 35.

Syagfius, king of the Franks and Burgundians, his character, vi. 249. Is conquered by Clovis, 250.

Sylla, the dictator, his legislative character, viii. 75.

Syllanus, the consul, his speech to the senate, recommending the election of the two Gordians to their approbation, i. 236.

Sylvania, sister of the præfect Rufinus, her uncommon sanctity, v. 132.

Sylvanus, general in Gaul under Constantius, is ruined by treachery, iii. 148.

Sylvorius, pope, is degraded and sent into exile by Belisarius for an attempt to betray the city of Rome to the Goths, vii. 204. His death, 312.

I N D E X.

Symmachus, his account of the Pagan conformity of the emperor Constantius, during his visit to Rome, iii. 324. Pleads in behalf of the ancient Pagan religion of Rome, to the emperor Valentinian, v. 82.

Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, excommunicates the president Andronicus, iii. 235. His extraordinary character, *ibid.* His advice to the Eastern emperor Arcadius, v. 155.

Synods, provincial in the primitive churches, institution of, ii. 275. Nature of those assemblies, iii. 238. See *Councils*.

Syria, its revolutions and extent, i. 32. Is reduced by Chosroes II. king of Persia viii. 183. General description of, ix. 243. Is conquered by the Saracens, 244. Invasion of, by Tamerlane, xi. 266.

Syriac, language, where spoken in the greatest purity, i. 276.

Syrianus, duke of Egypt, surprises the city of Alexandria, and expels Athanasius the primate of Egypt, iii. 299.

T

Tabari, the Arabian historian, account of his work, ix. 209.

Tabenne, the island of, in upper Thebais, is settled with monks, by Pachomius, vi. 196.

Table, of emerald, in the Gothic treasury in Spain, account of, v. 275.

Tacitus, emperor, his election and character, ii 52.

Tacitus the historian, his character of the principles of the portico, i. 103. The intention of his episodes, 260. His character as a historian, 283. His account of the ancient Germans, 289. His history how preserved and transmitted down to us, ii. 52. His account of the persecution of the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, 333.

Tactics

I N D E X

- Tactics*, of Leo and Constantine, character of, x. 4. Military character of the Greeks, 40.
- Tagina*, battle of, between the eunuch Narses, and Totila king of the Goths in Italy, vii. 337.
- Taberites*, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 388.
- Tamerlane*, his birth, reign, and conquests, xi. 252. His letter to Bajazet, 264. His conference with the doctors of the law, at Aleppo, 267. Defeats and takes Bajazet prisoner, 273. How kept out of Europe, 280. His triumph at Samarcand, 282. Dies on a march to China, 284. His character, 285.
- Tancred* the crusader, his character, x. 268. His bold behaviour at Constantinople, 281.
- Tarasius*, secretary to the empress Irenè, made patriarch of Constantinople, ix. 43. Presides at, and frames the decrees of the second council of Nice, *ib.*
- Tarik*, the Arab, his descent on Spain, ix. 299. Defeats and kills Roderic the Gothic king of, 301. His disgrace, 306. 310.
- Tarragona*, the city of, almost destroyed by the Franks, i. 341.
- Tartars*, see *Scythians*.
- Tartary*, Eastern, conquest of, by Tamerlane, xi. 257.
- Tatian*, and his son Proculus, destroyed by the base arts of Rufinus, the confidential minister of the emperor Theodosius, v. 117.
- Taurus*, the consul, is banished by the tribunal of Chalcedon, iv. 39.
- Taxes*, how the Roman citizens were exonerated from the burden of, i. 211. Account of those instituted by Augustus, 214. How raised under Constantine the Great, and his successors, iii. 61.
- Tayef*, siege of, by Mahomet, ix. 162.
- Teias*, the last king of the Goths, defeated and killed by the eunuch Narses, vii. 341.
- Telemachus*, an Asiatic monk, loses his life at Rome, in an attempt to prevent the combat of the gladiators, v. 171.

I N D E X.

- Temple*, of Jerusalem, burned, ii. 339. History of the emperor Julian's attempt to restore it, iv. 83.
- Temugin*. See *Zingis*.
- Tephrice*, is occupied and fortified by the Paulicians, x. 71.
- Tertullian*, his pious exultation in the expected damnation of all the Pagan world, ii. 253. Suggests desertion to Christian soldiers, 268. His suspicious account of two edicts of Tiberius and Marcus Antoninus, in favour of the Christians, 364.
- Testaments*, the Roman laws for regulating, viii. 60. Codicils, 62.
- Tetricus*, assumes the empire in Gaul, at the instigation of Victoria, ii. 26. Betrays his legions into the hand of Aurelian, 27. Is led in triumph by Aurelian, 40.
- Thabor*, mount, dispute concerning the light of, xi. 188.
- Thanet*, the island of, granted by Vortigern, as a settlement for his Saxon auxiliaries, vi. 301.
- Theatrical*, entertainments of the Romans, described, v. 233.
- Thebaan*, legion, the martyrdom of, apocryphal, ii. 470.
- Theft*, the Roman laws relating to, viii. 68. 74. 77.
- Themes*, or military governments of the Greek empire, account of, x. 6.
- Themistius*, the orator, his encomium on religious toleration, iv. 184.
- Theodatus*, his birth and elevation to the throne of Italy, vii. 179. His disgraceful treaties with the emperor Justinian, and revolt against them, 182. His deposition and death, 189.
- Theodebert*, king of the Franks in Austrasia, joins the Goths in the siege and destruction of Milan, vii. 214. Invades Italy, 215. His death, 217.
- Theodemir*, a Gothic prince of Spain, copy of his treaty of submission to the Saracens, ix. 307.
- Theodora*, empress, her birth, and early history, vii. 52. Her marriage with Justinian, 55. Her tyranny, 57. Her virtues, 59. Her death, 61. Her fortitude during the Nika sedition, 71. Account of her

I N D E X.

- palace and gardens of Heræum , 103. Her pious concern for the conversion of Nubia , 302.
- Theodora* , wife of the Greek emperor Theophilus , her history , viii. 354. Restored the worship of images , ix. 44. Provokes the Paulicians to rebellion , x. 71.
- Theodora* , daughter of the Greek emperor Constantine IX. her history , viii. 380.
- Theodora* , widow of Baldwin III. king of Jerusalem , her adventures as the concubine of Andronicus Comnenus , viii. 411.
- Theodore* , *Angelus* , despot of Epirus , seizes Peter of Courtenay , emperor of Constantinople , prisoner , xi. 87. Possesses himself of Thessalonica , 88.
- Theodoric* , acquires the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his brother Torismond , v. 129. His character by Siodonius , *ibid.* His expedition into Spain , 132.
- Theodoric* , the son of Alaric , his prosperous reign over the Visigoths in Gaul , v. 77. Unhappy fates of his daughters , 80. Is prevailed on by Ætius to join his forces against Attila , 90. Is killed at the battle of Chalons , 96.
- Theodoric* , the Ostrogoth , his birth and education , vii. 2. Is forced by his troops into a revolt against the emperor Zeno , 6. He undertakes the conquest of Italy , 9. Reduces and kills Odoacer , 12. Is acknowledged king of Italy , 13. Review of his administration , 15. His visit to Rome , and care of the public buildings , 25. His religion , 29. His remorse , and death , 41.
- Theodopisopolis* , the city of , in Armenia , built , v. 350
- Theodosius* , the Great , his distinction between a Roman prince and a Parthian monarch , iii. 73. The province of Mæsia preserved by his valour , iv. 267. Is associated by Gratian as emperor of the East , 343. His birth and character , 345. His prudent and successful conduct of the Gothic war , 348. Defeats an invasion of the Ostrogoths , 355. His treaty with Maximus , v. 11. His baptism , and edict to establish orthodox faith , *ibid.* Purges

I N D E X.

the city of Constantinople from Arianism, 18. Enforces the Nicene doctrine throughout the East, 20. Convenes a council at Constantinople, 22. His edicts against heresy, 25. Receives the fugitive family of Valentinian, and marries his sister Galla, 43. Defeats Maximus, and visits Rome, 46. His character, 47. His lenity to the city of Antioch, 53. His cruel treatment of Thessalonica, 56. Submits to the penance imposed by St. Ambrose, for his severity to Thessalonica, 60. Restores Valentinian, 63. Consults John of Lycopolis the hermit on the intended war against Eugenius, 68. Defeats Eugenius, 69. His death, 73. Procured a senatorial renunciation of the Pagan religion, 85. Abolishes Pagan rites, 87. Prohibits the Pagan religion, 97.

Theodosius, the younger, his birth, v. 335. Is said to be left by his father Arcadius, to the care of Jezdegerd king of Persia, 336. His education and character, 341. His marriage with Eudocia, 343. His war with Persia, 347. His pious joy on the death of John, the usurper of the West, vi. 5. His treaty with the Huns, 32. His armies defeated by Attila, 42. Is reduced to accept a peace dictated by Attila, 49. Is oppressed by the embassies of Attila, 53. Embassy of Maximin to Attila, 55. Is privy to a scheme for the assassination of Attila, 67. Attila's embassy to him on that occasion, 68. His death, 70. His perplexity at the religious feuds between Cyril and Nestorius, viii. 242. Banishes Nestorius, 246.

Theodosius III. emperor of Constantinople, viii. 333.

Theodosius, the father of the emperor, his successful expedition to Britain, iv. 239. Suppresses the revolt of Firmus the moor, in Africa, 244. Is beheaded at Carthage, 247.

Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria, his competition with Gaian, how decided, viii. 296. His negotiations at the court of Byzantium, 299.

I N D E X.

Theodosius, the deacon, grandson of the emperor Heraclius, murdered by his brother Constans II. viii. 322.

Theodosius, the lover of Antonina, detected by Belisarius, vii. 225. Turns monk to escape her, 227. His death, 230.

Theodorus, president of the council of Hierapolis under Constantius, his ridiculous flattery to that emperor, iv. 27.

Theophano, wife of the Greek emperor Romanus II. poisons both him and his father, viii. 372. Her connexion with Nicephorus Phocas, 373. His murder, and her exile, 376.

Theophilus, emperor of Constantinople, viii. 350. His Amorian war with the caliph Motassem, ix. 377.

Theophtus, archbishop of Alexandria, destroys the temple of Serapis, and the Alexandrian library, v. 94. Assists the persecution of St. Chrysostom, 329. His invective against him, 334.

Theophilus, his pious embassy from the emperor Constantius to the East Indies, iii. 221.

Theophobus, the Persian, his unfortunate history, viii. 352.

Therapeuta, or Essenians, some account of, ii. 299.

Thermopyla, the straits of, fortified by the emperor Justinian, vii. 106.

Thessalonica, sedition and massacre there, v. 55. Cruel treatment of the citizens, 57. Penance of Theodosius for this severity, 59.

Theudelinda, princess of Bavaria, married to Autharis, king of the Lombards, viii. 125.

Tibaut, count of Champagne, engages in the fourth crusade, xi. 18.

Thomas the Cappadocian, his revolt against the Greek emperor Michael II. and cruel punishment, viii. 349.

Thomas of Damascus, his exploits against the Saracens, when besieging that city, ix. 233.

Thomas, St. account of the Christians of, in India, viii. 285. Persecution of, by the Portuguese, 286.

I N D E X.

- Thrace*, is colonised by the Bastarnæ, in the reign of Probus, ii. 70. The fugitive Goths permitted to settle there by the emperor Valens, iv. 308. Is ravaged by them, 318. The Goths settled there by Theodosius, 358.
- Thrasimund*, king of the Vandals, his character, vi. 225.
- Three Chapters*, the famous dispute concerning, viii. 268.
- Thundering Legion*, the story concerning, of suspicious veracity, ii. 466.
- Tiberius*, is adopted by Augustus, i. 97. Reduces the Pannonians, 147. Reduces Cappadocia, 216. Suspicious story of his edict in favour of the Christians, ii. 364.
- Tiberius*, is invested by Justin II. as his successor in the empire of the East, viii. 109. His character and death 112.
- Timasius*, master-general of the army under the emperor Theodosius, is disgraced and exiled under Arcadius, 311.
- Timothy*, the Cat conspires the murder of Proterius archbishop of Alexandria, and succeeds him, viii. 256.
- Tipasa*, miraculous gift of speech bestowed on the Catholics, whose tongues had been cut out there, vi. 234.
- Tiridates*, king of Armenia, his character and history, ii. 114. Is restored to his kingdom by Diocletian, 115. Is expelled by the Persians, 118. Is restored again by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 127. His conversion to Christianity, and death, iii. 105.
- Titus*, admitted to share the Imperial dignity with his father Vespasian, i. 99.
- Togrul Beg*, sultan of the Turks, his reign and character, x. 206. He rescues the caliph of Bagdad from his enemies, 209.
- Toledo*, taken by the Arabs under Tarik, ix. 302.
- Toleration*, universal, its happy effects in the Roman empire, i. 37. What sects the most intolerant, 270.
- Tollius*, objections to his account of the vision of Antigonus, iii. 209.
- Torismond*, son of Theodoric king of the Visigoths, attends his father against Attila king of the Huns, vi. 91.

I N D E X.

- Battle of Chalons**, 94. Is acknowledged king on the death of his father in the field, 98. Is killed by his brother Theodoric, 129.
- Torture**, how admitted in the criminal law of the Romans under the emperors, iii. 59.
- Totila** is elected king of Italy by the Goths, vii. 310. His justice and moderation, 313. Besieges and takes the city of Rome, 317. Is induced to spare Rome from destruction, at the instance of Belisarius, 322. Takes Rome again, 329. Plunders Sicily, 330. Battle of Tagina, 337. His death, 339.
- Toulunides**, the Saracen dynasty of, ix. 390.
- Tournaments**, pretable exhibitions to the Olympic games, x. 271.
- Tours**, battle of, between Charles Martel and the Saracens, ix. 343.
- Taxandria**, in Germany, is overrun and occupied by the Franks, iii. 169.
- Traditors**, in the primitive church, who, ii. 388.
- Trajan**, emperor, his conquest of Dacia, i. 6. His conquests in the East, 7. Contrast between the characters of him and Hadrian, 10. His pillar described, 62. Why adopted by the emperor Nerva, 99. His instructions to Pliny the younger for his conduct toward the Christians, ii. 344. Description of his famous bridge over the Danube, vii. 104.
- Trajan**, count, his treacherous murder of Para king of Armenia, iv. 256.
- Transubstantiation**, the doctrine of, when established, x. 365.
- Trebizond**, the city of, taken and plundered by the Goths, i. 349. The dukes of, become independent on the Greek empire, xi. 74. Is yielded to the Turks, xii. 59.
- Tribigild** the Ostrogoth, his rebellion in Phrygia against the emperor Arcadius, v. 315.
- Tribune**, the office of, explained, i. 86.

I N D E X.

- Tribonian**; his genius and character, viii. 25. Is employed by Justinian to reform the code of Roman laws, 28.
- Trinity**, the mysterious doctrine of, iii. 252. Is violently agitated in the schools of Alexandria, 257. Three systems of, 258. Decisions of the council of Nice concerning, 261. Different forms of the doxology, 307. Frauds used to support the doctrine of, vi. 232.
- Tripoli**, the confederacy of, cruelly oppressed under the government of count Romanus, iv. 241.
- Trisagion**, religious war concerning, viii. 259.
- Troops**, Roman, their discipline, i. 12. When they first received pay, 210. Cause of the difficulty in levying them, iii. 47. See *Jovians*, *Palatines*, and *Pratorian bands*.
- Troy**, the situation of that city, and of the Grecian camp, of besiegers, described, iii. 8.
- Turin**, battle of, between Constantine the Great and the lieutenants of Maxentius, ii. 185.
- Turisund**, king of the Gepidæ, his honourable reception of Alboin the Lombard, who had slain his son in battle, viii. 93.
- Turks**, their origin, vii. 246. Their primitive institutions, 248. Their conquests, 250. Their alliance with the emperor Justinian, 256. Send auxiliaries to Heraclius, viii. 204. They grow powerful and licentious under the Saracens, ix. 381. Terror excited by their menacing Europe, x. 92. Their military character, 96. They extend themselves over Asia, 196. Reign of Mahmud the Gaznevide, 197. Their manners and emigration, 202. They subdue Persia, 205. Dynasty of the Seljukians, *ib.* They invade the provinces of the Greek empire, 211. Reformation of the Eastern calendar, 225. They conquer Asia Minor, 227. Their capital city, Nice, taken by the crusaders, x. 286. The seat of government removed to Iconium, 325. Valour and conquests of Zenghi, 338. Character of sultan Nouredin, 339. Conquest of Egypt, 340. Origin and history of the Ottomans, xi. 225. Their

I N D E X.

- first passage into Europe, 231. Their education and discipline, 299. Embassy from, to the emperor Sigismund, 330. Take the city of Constantinople, xii. 44.
- Turpin*, the romance of, by whom, and when written, x. 245.
- Twelve Tables*, review of the laws of, viii. 4. Their severity, 70. How the criminal code of, sunk into disuse, 73.
- Tyrants*, of Rome the popular conceit of the thirty investigated, i. 365.
- Tyre*, is besieged by Saladin, x. 355.
- Tythes*, assigned to the clergy as well by Zoroaster as by Moses, i. 270. Were first granted to the church by Charlemagne, ix. 54.

V

- Vadsmair*, prince of the Alemanni, is sent prisoner to Spain by the emperor Julian, iv. 15. His son murdered by the Romans, 225.
- Valens*, general of the Illyrian frontier, receives the title of Cæsar from Licinius, ii. 204. Loses his new title and his life, 205.
- Valens*, the brother of the emperor Valentinian, is associated with him in the empire, iv. 192. Obtains from his brother the Eastern portion of the empire, 193. His timidity on the revolt of Procopius, 199. His character, 204. Is baptised by Eudoxus, and patronises the Arians, 212. Is vindicated from the charge of persecution, 214. His edict against the Egyptian monks, 216. His war with the Goths, 259. Receives the suppliant Goths into the Roman territories, 307. His war with them, 320. Is defeated and killed at the battle of Hadrianople, 333. His eulogium by Libanius, 335.
- Valens*, the Arian bishop of Mursa, his crafty pretension to divine revelation, iii. 276.

I N D E X

- Valentia**, a new province in Britain, settled by Theodosius, iv. 240.
- Valentinian I.** his election to the empire, and character, iv. 188. Associates his brother Valens with him, 192. Divides the empire into the *East* and *West*, and retains the latter, 193. His cruelty, 204. His civil institutions, 207. His edicts to restrain, the avarice of the clergy, 216. Chastises the Alemanni, and fortifies the Rhine, 226. His expedition to Illyricum, and death, 267. Is vindicated from the charge of polygamy, 270.
- Valentinian II.** is invested with the Imperial ornaments in his mother's arms, on the death of his father, iv. 272. Is refused, by St. Ambrose, the privilege of a church for him and his mother Justina, on account of their Arian principles, v. 33. His flight from the invasion of Maximus, 42. Is restored by the emperor Theodosius, 63. His character, *ib.* His death, 66.
- Valentinian III.** is established emperor of the West, by his cousin Theodosius the younger, vi. 6. Is committed to the guardianship of his mother Placidia, 7. Flies, on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 106. Sends an embassy to Attila to purchase his retreat, *ib.* Murders the patrician Ætius, 112. Ravishes the wife of Petronius Maximus, 114. His death, and character, 115.
- Valentinians**, their confused ideas of the divinity of Jesus Christ, viii. 224.
- Valeria**, empress, widow of Galerius, the unfortunate fates of her and her mother, ii. 198.
- Valerian** is elected censor under the emperor Decius, i. 329. His elevation to the empire, and his character, 337. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor king of Persia, 359. His treatment, 363. His inconsistent behaviour toward the Christians, ii. 371.
- Vandals.** See *Goths*. Their successes in Spain, vi. 10. Their expedition into Africa under Genferic, 12. They raise a naval force and invade Italy, 119. Sack of Rome, 123. Their naval depredations on the coasts

I N D E X.

of the Mediterranean, 153. Their conversion to the Christian religion, 216. Persecution of the Catholics, 223. Expedition of Belisarius against Gelimer, vii. 141. Conquest of, 158. Their name and distinction lost in Africa, 166. Remains of their nation still found in Germany, 168.

Varanes. See *Babram*.

Varangians, of the north, origin and history of, x. 107.

Varronian, the infant son of the emperor Jovian, his history, iv. 187.

Vatases, *John*, his long and prosperous reign at Nice, xi. 88. 97. His character, 121.

Vegetius, his remarks on the degeneracy of the Roman discipline at the time of Theodosius the Great, v. 76.

Veii, the siege of that city, the æra of the Roman army first receiving regular pay, i. 210.

Venice, foundation of that republic, vi. 103. Its infant state under the exarchs of Ravenna, viii. 119. Its growth and prosperity at the time of the fourth crusade, xi. 20. Alliance with France, 22. Divides the Greek empire with the French, 64.

Veratius, his mode of obeying the law of the twelve tables respecting personal insults, viii. 69.

Verina, empress, the widow of Leo, deposes Zeno, vii. 4. Her turbulent life, 5.

Verona, siege of, by Constantine the Great, ii. 186. Battle of, between Stilicho the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, v. 168.

Verres, why his punishment was inadequate to his offences, viii. 75.

Vespasian, his prudence in sharing the Imperial dignity with his son Titus, i. 97.

Vestals, Roman, their number, and peculiar office, v. 79.

Vetranio, the Roman general in Illyricum, assumes the purple, and enters into an alliance with the Gaulish usurper Magnentius, iii. 116. Is reduced to abdicate his new dignity, 121.

I N D E X.

- Victoria*, exercises the government over the legions and province of Gaul, ii. 26.
- Victory*, her statue and altar, in the senate house at Rome, described, v. 81. The senate petitions the Christian emperors to have it restored, 82.
- Vigilantius*, the presbyter, is abused by Jerom for opposing monkish superstition, v. 371.
- Vigilius*, interpreter to the embassy from Theodosius the younger to Attila, is privy to a scheme for the assassination of Attila, vi. 55. Is detected by Attila, 68.
- Vigilius*, purchases the papal chair of Belisarius and his wife, vii. 204. Instigates the emperor Justinian to resume the conquest of Italy, 331.
- Vine*, its progress, from the time of Homer, i. 69.
- Virgil*, his fourth eclogue interpreted into a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, iii. 214. Is the most ancient writer who mentions the manufacture of silk, vii. 75.
- Vitalian*, the Gothic chief, is treacherously murdered at Constantinople, vii. 47.
- Vitalianus*, prætorian præfect under the emperor Maximin, put to death by order of the senate, i. 237.
- Vitellius*, emperor, his character, i. 105.
- Vitiges*, general of the Barbarians under Theodatus king of Italy, is by his troops declared king of Italy, vii. 289. He besieges Belisarius in Rome, 191. Is forced to raise the siege, 209. He is besieged by Belisarius in Ravenna, 217. Is taken prisoner in Ravenna, 221. Conforms to the Athanasian faith, and is honourably settled in Asia, 222. His embassy to Chosroes king of Persia, 268.
- Vitruvius* the architect, his remarks on the buildings of Rome, vi. 235.
- Visir*; derivation of that appellation, ix. 139.
- Ukraine*, description of that country, i. 326.
- Uldin*, king of the Huns, reduces and kills Gainas the Goth, v. 324. Is driven back by the vigilance of the Imperial ministers, 338.

I N D E X.

- Ulpilas*, the apostle of the Goths, his pious labours, vi. 215. Propagated Arianism, 221.
- Ulpian*, the lawyer, placed at the head of the council of state, under the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 200. Is murdered by the Pratorian guards, 205.
- Voconian*, law, abolished the right of female inheritance, viii. 59. How evaded, 63.
- Voltaire*, prefers the labarum of Constantine to the angel of Licinius, iii. 375. His reflections on the expences of a siege, vi. 331.
- Vortigern*, king of South Britain, his invitation of the Saxons for assistance against his enemies, vi. 301.
- Vouti*, emperor of China, his exploits against the Huns, iv. 294.
- Upsal*, anciently famous for its Gothic temple, i. 320.
- Urban II.* pope, patronises Peter the Hermit in his project for recovering the Holy Land, x. 242. Exhorts the people to a crusade, at the council of Clermont, 247.
- Urban V.* pope, removes the papal court from Avignon to Rome, xii. 154.
- Urban VI.* pope, his disputed election, xii. 156.
- Ursacius*, master of the offices under the emperor Valentinian, occasions a revolt of the Alemanni by his parsimony, iv. 222.
- Ursicinus*, a Roman general, his treacherous conduct to Sylvanus in Gaul, iii. 149. Is superseded in his command over the Eastern provinces, 166. Is sent back again to conduct the war with Persia under Sabinian, 167. Is again disgraced, *ibid.*
- Ursini*, history of the Roman family of, xii. 117.
- Ursulus*, treasurer of the empire under Constantius, unjustly put to death by the tribunal of Chalcedon, iv. 39.
- Usury*. See *Interest of money*.

I N D E X.

W

*Walacbian*s, the present, descendent from the Roman settlers in ancient Dacia, ii. 18.

Wales, is settled by British refugees from Saxon tyranny, vi. 308. 311. The bards of, 315.

Wallia, is chosen king of the Goths, v. 291. He reduces the barbarous invaders of Spain, 262. Is settled in Aquitain, 293.

War, and robbery; their difference, ix. 101. Evolutions and military exercise of the Greeks, x. 40. Military character of the Saracens, 43. Of the Franks and Latins, 45.

Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, his literary character, iv. 83. His labours to establish the miraculous interruption to Julian's building the temple of Jerusalem, 85.

Warna, battle of, between the sultan Amurath II. and Ladislaus king of Hungary and Poland, xi. 385.

Werdan, the Greek general, defeated by the Saracens at Aiznadin, ix. 230.

Wheat, the average price of, under the successors of Constantine the Great, iv. 115.

Whitaker, Mr. remarks on his account of the Irish descent of the Scottish nation, iv. 236.

White, Mr. Arabic professor at Oxford, character of his sermons at Bampton's lecture, ix. 341.

Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, his benevolent establishment at Selsey, vi. 313.

William I. the Bad, king of Sicily, x. 189.

William II. the Good, king of Sicily, x. 190.

Windmills, the use of, from whence derived, xi. 104.

Wine, the use of, expressly prohibited by Mahomet, ix. 133.

Wisdom, of Solomon, when, and by whom that book was written, iii. 289.

Wolodimir, great prince of Russia, marries Anne, daughter

I N D E X.

of the emperor Romanus, x. 34. His conversion to Christianity, 122.

Women, in hereditary monarchies, allowed to exercise sovereignty, though incapable of subordinate state offices, i. 198. How treated by the Roman civil laws, viii. 43. The Yoconian law, how evaded, 63. Are not excluded from Paradise by Mahomet, ix. 137.

X

Xenophon, his description of the desert of Mesopotamia, iv. 129.

Xerxes, the situation of his bridge of boats for passing over to Europe, pointed out, iii. 7.

Y

Yermuk, battle of between the Greeks and the Saracens, ix. 246.

Yezdegerd, king of Persia, his reign the æra of the fall of the Saffanian dynasty, and of the religion of Zoroaster, ix. 211.

Yezed, caliph of the Saracens, ix. 191.

Z

Zabergan, invades the Eastern empire with an army of Bulgarians, vii. 351. Is repuffed by Belisarius, 354.

Zachary, pope, pronounces the deposition of Childeric king of France, and the appointment of Pepin to succeed him, ix. 34.

Zano, brother of Gelimer the Vandal usurper, conquers Sardinia, vii. 154. Is recalled to assist his brother, *ibid.* Is killed, 156.

Zara, a city on the Slavonian coast, reduced by the crusaders for the republic of Venice, xi. 27.

I N D E X.

- Zenghi*, sultan, his valour and conquests, x. 338.
- Zeno*, emperor of the East, receives a surrender of the Imperial government of the Western empire, from the senate of Rome, vi. 185. The vicissitudes of his life and reign, vii. 4. His Henoticon, viii. 257.
- Zenobia*, queen of Palmyra, her character and history, ii. 27.
- Zingis*, first emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, parallel between him and Attila, king of the Huns, vi. 341. His proposal for improving his conquests in China, 44. His birth and early military exploits, xi. 201. His laws, 202. His invasion of China, 204. Carifme, Tranfloxiana, and Persia, 206. His death. 209.
- Zizais*, a noble Sarmatian, is made king of that nation by the emperor Constantius, iii. 157.
- Zobeir*, the Saracen, his bravery in the invasion of Africa, ix. 283.
- Zoe*, first the concubine, becomes the fourth wife of the emperor Leo the philosopher, viii. 367.
- Zoe*, wife of Romanus III. and Michael IV. emperors; viii. 382.
- Zoroaster*, the Persian prophet, his high antiquity, i. 263. Abridgement of his theology, 264. Provides for the encouragement of agriculture, 267. Assigns tythes to the priests, 269.
- Zosimus*, his representation of the oppression of the lustral contribution, iii. 70.
- Zuinglius*, the reformer, his conceptions of the Eucharist, xi. 81.
- Zurich*, brief history of that city, xii. 80.

T H E E N D.

